DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 143 100 EA 009 808

AUTHOR Williams, Peter, Ed.
TITLE Prescription for Progress? A Commentary on the Education Policy of the World Bank. Studies in Education (New Series) 3.
INSTITUTION London Univ. (England). Inst. of Education.
PUB DATE May 76
NOTE 97p.; Papers and a Report of Proceedings of a Seminar (University of London Institute of Education, England, May, 1975)
AVAILABLE FROM The NFER Publishing Company Ltd., Darville House, 2 Oxford Road East, Windsor, Berks, SL4 1DF, United Kingdom (1.75 pounds)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$4.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Change Strategies; *Conference Reports; *Developing Nations; Economic Development; *Educational Finance; *Educational Policy; Educational Trends; Elementary Secondary Education; Higher Education; *International Programs
IDENTIFIERS *World Bank

ABSTRACT

This booklet summarizes the proceedings of a one-day seminar on the educational policy of the World Bank and presents six papers prepared for the seminar. The seminar was held at the University of London Institute of Education in May 1975 and focused mainly on the World Bank's policy on educational aid as stated in its 1974 "Education Sector Working Paper." The papers prepared for the seminar include "Development through Education Seen Dimly," by C. Arnold Anderson; "Education in Developing Countries: The View from Mount Olympus," by Peter Williams; "Reflection on the 1974 Education Sector Working Paper," by John Oxenham; "The Rediscovery of Poverty: A Review of Aid Policies in Education," by James Sheffield; "A Memorandum from Mortadella," by Hugh Hawes and John Cameron; and "World Trends in Education: Some Observations," by Lionel Elvin. The appendix presents a summary of the 1974 "Education Sector Working Paper" and a list of the seminar participants. (JG)

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Studies in Education 3

PRESCRIPTION FOR PROGRESS?

A COMMENTARY ON THE EDUCATION POLICY OF THE WORLD BANK

Edited by Peter Williams

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University of London Institute of Education

Studies in Education

a series of occasional papers published by the
University of London Institute of Education
ISSN 0458–2101

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Studies in Education (New Series) 3

Prescription for Progress?

A Commentary on the Education Policy of the World Bank

edited by Peter Williams

Papers and a report of proceedings
of a seminar held at the
University of London Institute
of Education in May 1975

University of London Institute of Education

Published by the University of London Institute of Education

Cover design by Herb Gillman

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First published May 1976

ISBN 0 85473 063 X

Distributed by The NFER Publishing Company Ltd.,
2 Jennings Buildings, Thames Avenue,
Windsor, Berks SL4 1QS

Printed in Great Britain by King, Thorne and Stace Ltd.,
School Road, Hove, Sussex BN3 5JE

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Editor's Note

The page numbers in parentheses throughout these papers refer to relevant pages of the *Education Sector Working Paper*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, December, 1974.

Although we have provided our own summary of the *Education Sector Working Paper* at Appendix 1, we advise readers that our publication ought to be read in conjunction with the full paper. This can be obtained, free of charge, from the World Bank Headquarters in Washington or any of its regional offices.

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Foreword

The day-long seminar described in this report arose from the combination of two sets of circumstances. The first set concerned the policy adopted in the Department of Education in Developing Countries at the University of London Institute of Education in the last year or two of organizing workshops designed to investigate in depth topics which cut across the syllabus limitations of the various departmental courses. Examples of the type of topics which have been subjected to detailed academic examination are the problems of school leavers and the question of the size, growth and structure of national populations in relation to the supply of educational facilities.

The second set of circumstances reflected the interest of many staff members and some senior students with the educational policy of the World Bank. The Bank now ranks as the largest single donor of educational aid. In the years 1972 to 1974, new Bank commitments to the education sector were running at the rate of over $200m. per year. But the Bank's influence on education policies has rested on more than the amount of money lent and the new facilities created through its loans. Along with the money have gone ideas and advice to borrowers to make their education systems contribute more efficiently and effectively to economic development. A Bank policy statement appeared in the form of an *Education Sector Working Paper* in 1971 and when a second paper was published in December 1974, it not only attracted the keen attention of the Department but offered a very promising basis for a detailed academic examination of the educational factors affecting development in the developing world.*

First we organized a two-day workshop within the Department on 8 and 9 May 1975. This was attended by a very large number of students and staff from over thirty countries and led to a series of very lively and

**Education Sector Working Paper*. Washington D.C.: World Bank, December 1974. Available, free of charge, through World Bank offices (see p. 9).

well-informed discussions and to the writing of several background papers. The preparations for this workshop also led to the idea that we should invite a number of leading academics with experience of the developing world to join us in a day-long seminar to examine in detail the educational bases of the Bank's paper. This seminar was held at the University of London Institute of Education on 19 May 1975.

It was a happy chance that Dr. Jean Bowman and Professor Arnold Anderson of the University of Chicago, Professor James Sheffield of Teacher's College, Columbia, and Mr. Albert Ozigi of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, had been working with us during the year and were able to participate in the seminar. We were also very glad to welcome back two previous heads of the department, Lionel Elvin and John Lewis, and a number of academics from other British universities. The full list of members of the seminar is appended at the end of this volume (Appendix 2). It was clearly a very strong and experienced group which set out to put the *Education Sector Working Paper* under detailed academic scrutiny. It did not set out primarily to discuss educational aid. Indeed, a deliberate decision had been taken not to invite any members of the Bank or other international or national aid donors but to concentrate on the paper as a contribution to the literature on the bases of educational policy in the developing world. It was hoped, by this means, to open up further discussions with other interested persons and with the donor agencies.

A reading of the background papers – which of course contain the personal views of the authors and do not represent departmental or institutional policy – printed with this report might suggest that most of the comments at the seminar were highly critical of the Bank's paper. This was not so. The seminar took a good look at the policies outlined in the paper and in the suggested ways of implementation. There certainly were criticisms. Some were aimed at statements such as 'Education systems have been irrelevant to the needs of developing countries during the last two decades' (p. 3), which seemed to ignore the quantitative and curricular advances which have been made, and the strenuous efforts in some countries to evolve systems relevant to both traditional values and the creation of a modern sector. But, on the other hand, the seminar welcomed, and explored such statements as 'The new emphasis must also take account of diverse learning clientèles and, consequently, of alternative delivery systems. Education cannot be restricted to school-age youths' (p. 15).

Great interest, too, and much approval, was shown by the members of the seminar in the switch of the Bank's emphasis from the earlier concentration on the production of high level skills for the modern sector to assistance to the traditional economy, the rural areas and the poorest, towards, for example 'the promotion of development strategies designed to improve the well-being of the lower 40 per cent of the

population' (p. 47) but it was argued that the development of the much criticized small group of well-educated people in developing countries was, in fact, an important factor in creating a situation in which it becomes possible to offer 'alternative delivery systems'.

In short, the seminar developed into a stimulating discussion of educational possibilities using the Bank's paper as a starting point. It is hoped that this report, inadequate as it inevitably must be in re-creating all the cut and thrust, the give and take of academic argument, will serve to stimulate further discussion. The background papers have already been sent to the World Bank and have been courteously acknowledged. We hope there will be further dialogue. We hope, too, that there may be dialogue with potential recipients of Bank's assistance and would welcome discussions with other people concerned with education and development in the developing world. In the meantime, we feel a warm debt of gratitude to the Bank for its initiative in publishing this *Education Sector Working Paper* and thereby stimulating the extraordinarily interesting discussions in the seminar.

Finally I must thank the participants in the seminar for their contributions, both written and verbal, and pay a particular tribute to my colleague, Peter Williams, who not only organized both the student workshop and the seminar but has written the Report of the Proceedings. He deserves our gratitude for offering such a concise and coherent account of a day's fascinating but very diverse discussion.

R. C. Honeybone
January 1976.

Development through Education seen dimly

C. Arnold Anderson

The first World Bank Sector Working Paper on Education (1971) proposed to 'describe the distinctive economic, financial, and institutional characteristics of each sector; outline the role played by each sector in the general process of economic development' together with summarizing the Bank's activities in the sector and pointing out how combined aid programmes 'can contribute to building up each sector' in the associated countries (1971: p. 3).* In the second World Bank Paper on Education issued in 1974 the aims are widened: 'to the developmental goal of economic growth must be added social dimensions without which the mass of the people cannot achieve a fuller, happier and more productive life' (1974: p.i.).

I would infer that the authors of this report have more carefully read pronouncements by other international agencies than the burgeoning research literature on 'education and development'. If contributors to this literature had been used as critics, a more creative document might have resulted. The paper is more clear about what kinds of assistance the Bank has given and will give than about the reasons for favouring one or another kind of educational project.

Evasive Notions about the Development Process

At several points in each version readers are urged to adopt a comprehensive view of the educational system, but we must accept the exhortation in place of exemplification. How such a broad view can be used as a guide to policy is not made clear. The Bank staff should not be chivvied for failing to identify the 'functional' outcomes of educational activities for no one has done this. The dereliction lies

*This form of citation refers to the 1971 or 1974 version of the papers and the page. The two versions of the paper include 38 and 73 pages respectively.

in encouraging the belief that such criteria are readily come by. Indeed, once we undertake to 'integrate' educational with other developmental programmes, the task of 'evaluating' projects or programmes becomes elusive. Such unspecifiable aims, moreover, divert policy makers from realization that means can be vastly improved without greater clarity in goals. No educational system ever has been assessed in 'overall, comprehensive' terms. The more useful an educational system becomes to its ambient society, the more manifold become its linkages to other aspects of social change. Accordingly, it becomes progressively more difficult to make useful judgments about congruence between particular programmes and desired outcomes. The 1974 paper undeniably displays more awareness of the complexities of 'development' over and beyond 'growth' than does the 1971 statement. It would have been handsome of the writers to acknowledge that key writers about 'education and development' had during more than a decade been advocating just such a broad conception.

From contending in the 1971 paper that implanted educational systems do not greatly facilitate development, the position in 1974 becomes that the transplanted systems had been serving all too well to support the wrong sort of development. The anonymous writers sagely ask: (1974: p. 11) 'Who shall be educated? How? For what? At what expense?', but these well-focused criteria are brought to bear upon issues of policy with a loose-textured logic. Most of us would agree that educational programmes cannot supply the major thrust to development. To be consistent there should be consensus also on two corollaries: how education is made use of by members of a society determines what contribution education makes to change; and the use that individuals do make of education is not closely dependent upon whether they have either broad or clear conceptions of society-wide goals for change.

The present commentary is not generally commendatory. The Bank has what is probably the largest fund for employing specialists and consultants. Its files contain by far the most information (including confidential intelligence) about educational systems. Its sector papers will be widely interpreted as offering well-grounded and theoretically up-to-date assessments of policies for change in many sectors of societal life. The paper then should be a model of analysis.

Improving the 'Fit' between Education and Society

In many instances observers could agree that a country's gamut of educational programmes is making a reasonable contribution to advancement of the society even though there might be little agreement about the arithmetic balance of benefits and costs. Assessments at

either level of generality can be made without reference to 'a comprehensive development plan' with which educational programmes are supposed to be congruent. Both versions of the paper presuppose that 'needs' of a country can be stipulated and that it is possible to decide whether education is meeting those needs. But the latter more narrow judgments about needs are easier than the former more broad judgments about congruence with development plans.

The holistic or aggregative premises of the Bank staff emerge in the sweeping assertions about the deficiencies of educational systems that have been borrowed from more advanced countries (1974: pp. 12, 20), systems that 'have not acquired an indigenous character'. In order to cope with problems relating to 'institutional transfer' we must avoid being distracted by clichés about indigenous or foreign institutions.

Confidence of the Bank in the virtues of 'vocational education' reflects optimism about the effects of education generally and doubt about the strength of indigenous cultural structures – particularly local practices of apprenticeship. Because some countries or the rural areas of most countries can send few pupils beyond primary school, it is inferred unjustifiably that primary curricula should – and can – be given a 'practical' slant. Rural schools, we are warned, should not be allowed to become second rate. Yet certain specifications would contribute to just that outcome (1974: pp. 25-26 and contrast p. 32 with p. 31).

This document displays an appropriate awareness of the slow and wavering outcome from vast programmes of formal primary education, not to mention excruciating issues of equity. Two extended comments (1974: pp. 28-33, 52-54) offer a rather diffuse support for a new scheme of 'basic education'. Who would receive this education, in what places at what hours or days, under whose instruction, by what arrangements for finance? None of these programmatic features is dealt with. No effort is made to compare clientèles, curricula, or anticipated outcomes of basic education with conventional primary schooling. Already our files are filling with documents and proposals about 'basic' education, yet we continue to await particulars. The strong recommendation for basic education contrasted with the absence of any analysis of it is disconcerting.

The 1974 version contains a useful and voluminous tabulation of data for 65 less-developed countries and a few developed countries for contrast (pp. 18-19). Unfortunately, most of the derived tables conceal diversity of countries under broad categories. Charts would have been more informative in showing a pattern for all countries. At one or two points editors used the misleading ratio of educational expenditures to government budgets although the table contains the ratios to *per capita* incomes.

These sorts of display of data are to be found in many places.

What it would have been good to have from the staff are gleanings from their unique knowledge. They have made voluminous surveys in many countries; their files contain sage judgments from many experts that were withheld from published reports; negotiations making use of confidential information have been conducted over most of the world. The Bank's files contain unmatched information about the distinctive features of educational systems varying among regions, levels of development, patterns of administrative organization, and so on. It would have been possible to provide a sparkling picture of how countries strive to align educational programmes with the needs that their officials perceive for new kinds of qualities of skill. But no one needs to have been on 'the inside' of any country or of any international agency to have produced the document we have in hand.

Decision Criteria for choosing Educational Policies

In prescribing policy for any sector of society there is room for both public and private activities. In large measure the public activities should foster prudent and productive decisions by individuals and private groups as the surest way to obtain flexibility in developmental activities. Priority should be given to identifying appropriate criteria for decisions and to institutionalizing diversified agencies of decision. The Bank obviously has made many prudent judgments about which programmes to assist in particular countries; judging by the exposition of this paper these decisions have been typically 'intuitive' or clinical rather than based on a knowledgeable conception of how social change occurs. The broad statement of desirable programmes in education (1974: pp. 55-56) posits no definite relationship between types of decisions and types of applicable criteria for decision. Confusion about the appropriate locus of decision seems to be embodied in the comment with respect to non-formal training (1974: p. 25) that 'small-scale operations have all too often not been integrated into nationwide schemes'. (A touchstone to the approach expressed in this document is the use of 'integrate' in an active mood rather than speaking of 'becoming integrated'.) A reader cannot align the incisive queries, such as 'Who shall be educated?' and so on, with any stipulation of how to use different sorts of evidence in seeking a reasonable distribution of benefits and costs. For example, the comparison (1974: pp. 43-44) between 'manpower approach' and 'rate of return' is uninformative. Endemic frustrations at the mounting unemployment accompanying expansion of educational programmes are set down clearly (1974: pp. 20-21), but an effort to specify appropriate modification in incentives for schooling (1974: pp. 22-23) dies away in desultory commentary.

The 1974 version of this sector paper gives a more complex and adequate matrix of factors than was manifested in the 1971 version. But I find the exposition to be a disquieting combination of an imperative mood with vague suggestions for selecting policies. Expansion in 'employment' is the stuff of economic development, and a feeling of urgency naturally suffuses all discussion of that goal. No agency or individual can be castigated for failing to solve that problem. To me this paper is deficient because it offers mainly inchoate commentary and disdains cumulative insights and structures of analysis.

The central importance of balancing efficiency norms against equity is made clear. But readers will find no guidelines on how to identify those aspects of educational outcomes that relate mainly to 'efficiency' nor of how 'equity' considerations impinge upon judgments about outcomes from education. Of particular seriousness is the absence of suggestions as to how readers can distinguish long-run from short-run elements in both efficiency and equity aspects; discussion of this topic meanders. Professional analysis about 'education and development' has gone beyond merely acknowledging the importance of these concepts and on to systematic search as to when and how to use them and how to interpret relevant data.

The 1974 version displays a marked rise in emphasis on equity questions. But (as at pp. 3-4) this argument is rather tacked on to an exposition that in essentials was not modified from its 1971 version. We find (1974: p. 34) a singularly prescient observation – contrasting to much of the literature about equity in education in the Third World – that 'free education' often leads to widening rather than to narrowing of disparities. It is pointed out also (1974: p. 45) that sensitive policy must be based on data for districts and for subpopulations, not used as national aggregates. But these comments, so often intermixed with less sage ones, mainly are set forth blandly without any effort to illuminate the way in which educational programmes become part of an ongoing process of developmental change.

Policy makers cannot just add equity to the things that they keep in mind when shaping new programmes. On a worldwide scale there is no unambiguous relationship between level of national development and the degree of disparity or inequality in distribution of the product of that development: incomes are not uniformly distributed more unequally in the non-developed economies.

It is one thing, for example, to propose that 'the regressive impact of public subsidies' be softened; mitigation of this situation is not impossible even for non-affluent societies. A different order of programme is needed to have 'parent education or school and community action which might compensate for the absence of an adequate home environment' (1974: p. 35): the latter sort of programme presupposes relative affluence, or very unusual traditions.

Implications of any policy for equalization will be different on the equity than on the efficiency dimension. Moreover, the association between these two criteria will vary by level of per capita income and in relation to socio-cultural history. In any society those two criteria can be harmonized more surely in the long run than in the short run. In this large family of decision situations analysis can be made more sharp and more informative through use of the concept of 'opportunity costs'. It is especially with respect to inter-sectoral ramifications that this latter concept can be crucial, and it is inter-sectoral relationships that we have in mind whenever we speak of integrating education with broad policies of development.

Two pervasive features of this sector paper make me uneasy. First, the tone is 'managerial'. Yet a school system is not the same kind of formal organization as is the Bank or an individual school. The 'system' is multiple. In that kind of system it is no test of adequacy whether the many programmes of education are 'coordinated' or brought under one act of scrutiny. There is more effort to state imperatives than to delineate how programmes become related with the sorts of event that – in a different context – we call 'development'.

Second, the thinking in this working paper is stato-centric. Officials from the Bank sign 'accords' of one type or another with officials from this or that country. Policy is identified with arranging that individuals will do what someone else wishes them to do. One detects in this document little appreciation that individuals or groups can be 'incentivated' to make autonomous decisions whose effects will be development.

Education in Developing Countries: The view from Mount Olympus

Peter Williams

The trouble with living on the top of Mount Olympus is that you only have other gods to talk to. It is exceptionally difficult to hear any conversation other than that of one's fellow deities. It is hard to know what the mortals down below are saying and thinking among themselves. True, the mortals do occasionally send delegations up the mountain to pray, in anticipation of favours from on high. But when they come, they have a regrettable tendency to speak in heavenly language, to utter the prayers and recite the creeds they think the gods like to hear. Objectivity is made more difficult because the valleys below often appear to be obscured by cloud. Thus although mortal life may for the most part continue in regular and orderly fashion, the serene deities are so far above that they sometimes interpret what they glimpse through the swirling cloud as chaos in human affairs. (I have even heard impious speculation that since mortals apparently see what the gods are up to more clearly than the gods comprehend human life, it may be that the fog does not objectively exist. Could it simply represent a clouding of heavenly minds – due perhaps to a surfeit of nectar, or to the rarefied atmosphere on the summit of the mountain? Others allege that in-fighting amongst the gods raises a good deal of dust at the top of Mount Olympus, and it is this that reduces visibility.) Whatever the truth about the precise nature and causes of the obscuring of the divine vision it comes as no surprise to learn that the gods should believe their view of mortal life represents reality. When the clouds (or is it their own fixations?) lift and the gods do at last see clearly, they are convinced that it is not the fog that has cleared; the world itself has changed.

Such are the images that haunted me on reading the World Bank's latest *Education Sector Working Paper* published in December 1974.

This paper has also appeared in *Prospects*, Vol. V, No. 4, published by Unesco, Paris, December 1975.

'Overall development strategies' states Mr McNamara's foreword to the publication, 'have come under close scrutiny in recent years. Today, government leaders and economists alike increasingly believe that to the developmental goal of economic growth must be added social dimensions without which the mass of the people cannot achieve a fuller, happier and more productive life' (p. i). From this flows the main recommendation of the report for more emphasis on mass participation in education, on greater access and equality. Does this mean it was not after all wrong in the 1960s for the developing countries to be expanding primary education so rapidly, to indulge in building boarding schools, or to tolerate smaller and locally based teacher-training colleges which might have rather high running costs? It seems only just the other day that these things were criticized as linear expansion, preferring quantity to quality, condoning economic inefficiency. Now, however, quantitative expansion becomes 'ensuring mass participation in education and development'; we learn that 'the provision of living accommodation can be used to reduce the barriers for the underprivileged' (p. 34) and that the smaller primary training college 'can be more effective . . . in assuring a better deployment of teachers and an adaptation of the training to local conditions' (p. 40). The reason given is not that the World Bank has come to accept what most politicians and social leaders have always known. No. It is that 'today government leaders and economists alike increasingly believe that to the developmental goal of economic growth must be added social dimensions'.

This really cannot be allowed to pass. At least on the African continent, *the* issue in aid negotiations between government leaders and the World Bank and other foreign agencies has been the preoccupation of Africans with the 'social dimension' – with the need, for example, to take social and political considerations into account in deciding priorities between levels and types of schools or in locating institutions, and with the possible social and political impact of reforms being urged by outsiders – while the Bank's aim (in its own words, now reiterated) 'has been basically one: to help developing countries reform and expand their education systems in such a way that the latter may contribute more fully to economic development' (p. i).

Is the Bank being any fairer to the economists? Can one really take seriously the inference that economists have only just come to realize that there are social dimensions to development, that equitable distribution of income is not an automatic corollary of growth, and that the creation of productive employment is an economic goal as important as the growth rate of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (p. 14)? Was not Professor Harbison himself, long regarded as the very high priest of manpower planning, saying just this in the mid-1960s, a

decade ago* Up on Mount Olympus when the gods awake from their trance they like to pretend that everybody else has been asleep. For the gods do not – by definition – slumber.

This is written only half in jest. For what this working paper from the World Bank clearly demonstrates is the constant danger besetting all those who because of their political, intellectual or financial power – are accustomed to being listened to with too much respect too much of the time. Humility is not the most noticeable characteristic of this document. It identifies failures and shortcomings in the education systems of the Third World by the score: but there is scarcely a word about the mistakes that the World Bank and its fellow agencies may have made. There is no acknowledgement that perhaps the keenest advocate of the policies now being criticized was the World Bank itself, or that only a decade ago today's received wisdom was regarded in Washington as foolishness. There is no hint of apology or even explanation, no admission of past error. The paragraphs on the need for evaluation are found only in that part of the paper dealing with problems and issues of education in developing countries; not, be it noted, in the section dealing with the World Bank's own lending policies. Might not an institution in such an unassailable position as the Bank have been able to share more of its thoughts about its own successes and failures? Is one to infer that there is no self-questioning at the Bank, that nothing has been learned in the first dozen years of Bank lending for education.

The sense of omniscience is in places quite overwhelming. 'The Bank seeks to promote balanced educational development' (p. 52) '. . . The Bank will actively promote the best combination of high educational achievement and low costs' (p. 56) '. . . The Bank will continue to emphasize the financial criteria of education projects and development strategies including a sound balance of expenditure between components within the education system and between the education sector and other sectors of development' (p. 56) '. . . The Bank will seek to assess the degree to which educational programmes contribute to a rational policy balancing equity and other educational objectives such as efficiency and the development of skills' (p. 57). Can there be any $64,000 questions left to answer after all this? One is torn between irritation at the implied claim to superior intelligence over all those who have been painfully striving after balanced educational development, best combinations, sound balances of expenditure, and rational policies balancing equity and other objectives; and alarm at the apparent certainty that some one right and rational answer to most

*For example in his paper presented to the Kericho Conference in Kenya in 1966, 'The Generation of Employment in Newly Developing Countries', in: Sheffield, J. R. (ed.). *Education, Employment and Rural Development*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967.

problems does exist, and that conflicting aims and values can be readily reconciled.

The Bank acknowledges that developing countries may not in all cases 'be willing to accept the general and specific policies suggested in this Paper' (p. 57). An innocent might have supposed that this was because countries were genuinely perplexed by what best to do; that the answers seen from their perspectives did not appear clear cut; that there were potential conflicts between objectives such as national unity and the use of localized languages. Not so. It is because 'overall, experience suggests that the innate caution and conservatism of educational establishments will continue and that relatively few countries will undertake the radical changes which many external observers consider necessary' (p. 57). This is unbelievable. Was it only innately cautious educationalists who saw contradiction in establishing 'comprehensive' secondary schools in heavily selective systems? Is it only conservatives who have hesitated to follow every twist and turn of curricular fashion from the West in new mathematics, new science and the rest? Are they some kind of reactionaries who do not now see 'basic education' as their salvation, or who doubt the validity of 'substantial research findings which indicate that class sizes may be increased without a loss in student learning performance' (p. 56)? In the very next paragraph after the reference to innate caution and conservatism, the Bank is insensitive enough to cite Ethiopia as a country 'facing educational problems resolutely and with imagination' (p. 57). Pause to reflect on the fate of those Ethiopian leaders who, lauded and actively encouraged by the international educational aid agencies, set up the Ethiopian Education Sector Review and accepted its findings, thereby helping to trigger off a revolution against themselves.

Irritating though it may be in tone, this new *Educational Sector Working Paper* does deserve a welcome on several counts, two of which I mention here, leaving others to emerge later. In the first place the decision to issue this paper – and the companion volumes in fields like health and rural development – is a welcome sign of greater openness on the part of the World Bank. Second, however belated it may be and however limited some may find its practical expression in policy (surely the social dimension means more than equality), the new commitment to a broader conception of development must be applauded; both in its own right as a recognition that the ends of development are not purely economic, and as an indication of courage and flexibility in the Bank's thinking.

However, it is by the content of its analysis and proposals that the paper will be mainly judged. It is convenient to discuss this material under three headings corresponding with the three main parts of the document. First, there is the analysis of the educational situation of developing countries, comprising a chapter on the trends in develop-

ment up to 1970 and a discussion of educational issues in five major areas – development of skills, mass participation in education and development, education and equity, increasing efficiency in education, improving management and planning capacity. Second, policy choices are considered in each of these five areas. Third, the paper puts forward views on how the Bank itself may help in getting these policies carried out.

The Bank's Analysis: Are we really Regressing?

Turning first to the analysis, the Bank recognizes from the outset that countries are unique in their experience and requirements. However there are some similarities and common features among them which encourage the Bank to seek for typologies based, it transpires, on income levels.

The first major finding of the paper is that in the past education may not have been as irrelevant to the development strategies of developing countries as had formerly been assumed. Education may indeed have been relevant to them; but the fault may have been that the strategies themselves, involving an effort to emulate and catch up the rich countries through emphasis on the capital-intensive modern sector, were inappropriate to the societies concerned. Too much attention was paid to increasing national income: too little to a fair distribution of it, or to social and cultural aspects of development.

The paper suggests that as a consequence of this emphasis in development strategy there was, in educational development, great stress on the provision of highly skilled manpower. This effort was not altogether fruitful, however, since the proportion of students in vocational education in developing countries has been consistently low. The report goes on to say, in almost direct contradiction of the point at the end of the last paragraph, that 'political and cultural leaders were convinced that a well-supported easily accessible education system was an efficient means to make people politically and socially conscious and therefore active participants in nation-building and cultural processes' (p. 12); and therefore they rapidly expanded school enrolments. But there were two major obstacles to this process. These were that the education systems were modelled on those of the former colonial rulers and were inappropriate; and that the rate of expansion has decreased – indeed, 'a stagnation of enrolment has occurred' (p. 13).

I intend to discuss at some length the enrolment data presented in this paper. My reason for doing so is not that the number of occupied school places is necessarily a sufficient indicator of educational quality; and in arguing that developing countries have achieved very much more than the World Bank is giving them credit for,

I would not want to appear to be taking a complacent view that formal school systems are serving their communities nearly as well as they might. Rather, I dwell on the quantitative dimension because the Bank makes quite a large part of its case in terms of Third World failure on this score. And although it was fashionable in the recent past to disparage mere quantitative expansion, the point that numbers are vital to equality of educational opportunity is now being grasped.*

The *Education Sector Working Paper* contains three key tables, reproduced below as Tables 1, 2 and 3. Some of the key statements made by the Bank in relation to these are:

1. A stagnation in enrolment has occurred (p. 13).

2. Many education systems generally fail to achieve mass participation in educational opportunities. All these efforts have been insufficient to provide education for more than about one-half of the children and adults in developing countries (p. 27).

3. Twenty-five of the poorest countries have only one-third of the primary age children enrolled. Although middle-income countries have achieved much higher enrolment ratios, the analysis shows that even there more than one-fourth of the appropriate primary age group (excluding over-age children) does not attend school (p. 27).

4. The gap between the poorest and the richest countries has increased at the secondary and tertiary levels (p. 16).

5. There is a widening difference between what governments in the poorest and the richer countries spend for the education of a student . . . in the poorest countries there was only a negligible increase in public expenditure which, if measured in constant prices, corresponds to an actual decline (p. 16).

6. While the overall literacy rate has increased during the 1960s from 41 per cent to 50 per cent, it is still as low as 26 per cent in Africa. The number of illiterates in the age group above 15 increased during the decade from 701 million to 756 million (excluding China); the increase during the next decade will raise the number of adult illiterates in the developing world to 865 million (p. 28).

7. Rapid population growth, together with misallocation of education resources has led to an increase in the number of illiterates in developing countries around the world. It is estimated that, if this trend continues, the number of illiterates will increase to 865 million by 1985. This disturbing phenomenon threatens not only the more equitable distribution of the benefits of development; it threatens development itself (p. i).

*Since this paper was written, a more detailed discussion of world enrolment trends at the primary education level has appeared in Phillips, H. M., *Basic Education: A World Challenge*. London: John Wiley, 1975.

Table 1. School enrolment ratios

Group	*Per capita*[1] GNP	Number of countries	Total population in 1970 (millions)	Enrolment ratios[2] First level 1960	1965	1970	Second level 1960	1965	1970	Third level 1960	1965	1970
I	Up to $120 (excluding India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh)	25	168	34	39	43 (31)	4	5	5	0·3	0·3	0·4
	Up to $120 (India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh)	4	802	43	56	71 (63)	9	11	18	1·7	2·6	4·3
II	$121–250	23	287	67	79	83 (68)	9	14	19	2·1	3·0	5·6
III	$251–750	38	433	73	83	97 (77)	11	17	25	1·9	3·3	5·3
IV	$751–1,500	9	112	90	93	97 (80)	33	44	49	6·2	8·4	10·5
V	Over $1,500	24	623	100	100	100	58	65	83	17·0	23·7	30·2

1. Countries in each group are as follows:
   - I. Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Botswana, Burma, Burundi, Chad, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gambia, Guinea, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen Arab Republic, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Zaire.
   - II. Bolivia, Central African Republic, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Republic of Korea, Liberia, Malagasy, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Philippines, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Republic of Viet-Nam.
   - III. Algeria, Bahrain, Brazil, Republic of China, People's Republic of the Congo, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Fiji, Gabon, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Lebanon, Malaysia, Mexico, Nicaragua, Oman, Panama, Papua, New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Zambia.
   - IV. Argentina, Chile, Cyprus, Greece, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela.
   - V. Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kuwait, Libya, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Qatar, Sweden, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States.
2. The enrolment ratios have been obtained by dividing the total enrolment at each level with the appropriate age group. These 'gross' enrolment ratios are inflated by over-age students. For 1970, it has been possible to exclude the over-age students and estimate 'net' enrolment ratios at the first level. The net ratios are indicated in parentheses and show that the over-age students form 10–20 per cent of the total student body at the first level.

Source: Education Sector Working Paper, Washington, DC, World Bank, December 1974.

Table 2. Public expenditure in education per student (U.S. $)

Countries grouped by *per capita* GNP	1960	1965	1970	Net change %
I (up to $120)	16	21	18	+ 13
II ($121–250)	33	40	49	+ 49
III ($251–750)	43	58	57	+ 33
IV ($751–1,500)	114	165	179	+ 57
V (over $1,500)	338	504	749	+121
Group V amount as a multiple of Group I	21	24	42	

Source: Education Sector Working Paper, Washington, DC, World Bank, December 1974. (Taken originally from *Unesco Statistical Yearbook 1972.*)

Table 3. Estimated number and ratio of illiterates in the developing world, around 1960 and 1970.

	Developing countries		Africa		Asia		Latin America	
	Millions	%	Millions	%	Millions	%	Millions	%
Around 1960								
Males	295	50	56	73	224	45	17	28
Females	406	69	68	88	318	63	23	37
TOTAL	701	59	124	81	542	55	40	33
Around 1970								
Males	306	40	61	63	231	37	16	20
Females	450	60	82	84	348	57	23	27
TOTAL	756	50	143	74	579	47	39	24

Source: Education Sector Working Paper, Washington, DC, World Bank, December 1974. (Taken originally from *Unesco Statistical Yearbook 1972.*)

Now, the foregoing is a decidedly partial account of what these tables indicate. After all, an equally truthful report might well have read:

1. Extraordinarily rapid progress was made in educational development in the developing countries in the 1960s, and in all but twenty-five of the poorest universal primary education is now in sight. School enrolments and school enrolment ratios rose steadily up to 1970.
2. Most education systems already achieve mass participation in educational opportunities.
3. These efforts have been sufficient to provide education for about three quarters of the children in developing countries. Even in the twenty-nine poorest countries the first level participation rate averages 66 per cent, and in middle income countries it is about 88 per cent.
4. The poorest countries have commendably stressed primary education . . .
5. . . . and have been efficient enough to hold down education expenditure per student: as an inevitable consequence of these wise policies the gap between the poorest and the richest at the secondary and tertiary levels and in expenditure per student has naturally increased.
6. There has been a great advance in world literacy: despite rapid . . .
7. . . . population increase the adult literacy rate has gone up from 41 per cent to 50 per cent in the 1960s and all the evidence is that there will be a further strong advance in the present decade.

By what alchemy is this basically cheerful picture turned into a message of doom? The working paper 'dresses up' the statistics in a number of ingenious ways. First, having divided countries into income groups, it then subdivides the group of poorest countries into a group of four large Asian countries (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Indonesia) and twenty-five others. If the enrolment data for the 'big four' in Asia were amalgamated with that of the twenty-five it would completely change the statements that could be made about what goes on in the poorest countries, what they can afford in terms of primary schooling, and so on. Indeed to my mind some of the most striking figures in the whole paper are those showing that these four very poor, but very populous, countries raised their first-level school enrolment ratios from 43 in 1960 to 71 in 1970. If the Bank's figures are correct, then these four countries which contain almost half the population of the non-Communist Third World were achieving the crucial breakthrough in primary enrolment ratios which very probably have taken them beyond the point of no return on the road to a fully schooled population. This rise in primary enrolment rates was achieved in the face of rapid population growth and occurred at a time when, so we are supposed to believe, developing countries were pursuing the wrong development strategy and were neglecting equity considerations!

Second, the Bank only succeeds in making enrolments appear depressingly low (see proposition no. 3 above) by excluding over-age children. But can this be justified in the case of countries which cannot enforce a single age of entry? It would mean that a child who entered a six-grade primary course two years 'late' would only be counted in the enrolment ratio calculation for four of the six years he was at school: so the real coverage of the system would be grossly understated. The exclusion of over-age children from the statistics is objectionable not only on the grounds that it is more misleading than to include them, but also because it somehow seems to cast doubt on the validity of over-age learning. This is directly contrary to the spirit of the Faure Report's recommendations and indeed of the Bank's own thinking on basic education in this paper. For on page 31 of the paper the Bank advocates later entry to primary school; it is surely inconsistent therefore to say that late entrants should not be counted when calculating enrolment ratios. The same type of inconsistency of thought, by the way, is evident in relation to wastage. The working paper uses figures of successful completers of primary education as an index of 'efficiency' (Annex 6) at the same time as it criticizes a situation where 'those who do not leave with proper certificates at the exit levels are considered failures' (p. 39).

Third, the handling of the illiteracy figures is surely rather unscrupulous. In the case of adult literacy it must be obvious that, with population growth so high, the important figure is the proportion of illiterates, not the absolute number. If the literacy rate continues to improve and primary school enrolment ratios keep up, then it is only a matter of time before the absolute number of illiterates itself drops. Presumably the 865 million illiterates projected for 1985 would reflect a rise in the literacy rate from 50 per cent in 1970 to something like 60 or 65 per cent in that year. What exactly does Mr McNamara mean when he suggests in his foreword to the working paper that this is a 'disturbing phenomenon' which 'threatens development itself'?

Fourth, the Bank raises the old cry of 'gap widening' to sustain its plea for concern. But the particular context in which the Bank raises the gap issue – secondary and tertiary enrolment rates – does not help its case at all, quite the reverse. At the level with which the Bank is most concerned in this paper – primary schooling and literacy – the gap in participation rates between rich and poor countries is *narrowing*. It must indeed, by definition, narrow if there is any rise in the enrolment or literacy rates whatever in the poor countries, since the rich countries had already achieved the maximum possible rate – 100 per cent – by 1960.

At secondary and higher levels the gap in enrolment rates between rich and poor may in any case temporarily widen, even if countries do not follow the priorities suggested by the Bank, because the rate has

still been rising strongly in the richer countries in the 1960s. All their current expansion of educational coverage (participation rates) is naturally at post-primary levels. But there is no real cause for concern because the widening of the gap, certainly at secondary level, is bound to be temporary; with 80 per cent now enrolled in rich countries at secondary level, it is inevitable that the secondary gap too must be narrow, if not in the 1970s, then surely in the 1980s or 1990s. Already one can see from Table 1 a strong acceleration in secondary participation rates in the middle-income countries.

Since gap widening at secondary and tertiary levels would be fully consistent with – and indeed the direct result of – policies advocated by the Bank of concentrating expansion on the basic levels, it is hard to see why this issue of gaps is given such an airing in the present context. And the same applies to expenditure per student: in one breath the Bank urges developing countries to reduce cost per student in the name of efficiency, and in the next complains that a constant (or in real terms declining) outlay per student in poor countries is widening the gap between them and the rich.

It is hard to avoid the conclusion therefore that the Bank has deliberately underrated the achievements of developing countries. This is hardly surprising for the *raison d'être* of an international aid agency is to win international recognition of the scale of the need in poor countries and to elicit a response to that need. Yet it is only fair to look beyond the undoubted self-interest involved to some substantial causes for concern on the part of the Bank. In recent years the Bank has expressed anxiety about the plight of the poorest countries and of the poorest population groups in all countries. As we have noted the evidence concerning middle-income countries and middle-income groups in poor countries is that the first-level enrolment rate is approaching universality. But the poor residue of countries and population groups within countries undoubtedly does persist. Many of the poorest countries are either so small as to be hardly viable, or else are very sparsely populated in relation to their size. This last factor is extremely important in relation to education enrolment rates: a closer analysis might well reveal that enrolment rates are more closely correlated with population density than with income.

Moreover, even if the picture of the past with which we have been presented is misleading, one has to consider whether recent trends or the present situation itself contain the seeds of future deterioration. There was a slowdown in the pace of expansion during the 1960s, and on the basis of past experience Unesco forecasts that the rise in enrolment rates may grind to a virtual halt by the end of this century. One major consideration is the effect that the rise in oil prices may have on the economies of many of the poorest countries. In this regard however it should be noted that Nigeria is much the largest

of the twenty-five poorest countries (excluding the four big Asian ones) listed in Table 1*, accounting for at least one-third of their combined populations; and Nigeria not only has oil but has announced universal primary education for the near future. Reflecting the Nigerian experience and also because of a rapid or imminent rise in enrolment of other big countries (Tanzania, Sudan, Ethiopia) in the same category it seems probable that by 1980 the primary enrolment performance of the poorest twenty-five taken as a group will be much better than in 1970, even though this will be an average concealing a great uneveness in performance by individual countries. But clearly the determining factor in the over-all performance of developing countries is going to be the enrolment trend in the heavily populated Asian countries, and whether the rise in the participation rate can be maintained. Naturally the pace of improvement will slow down because one cannot expect the move from 70 per cent to 100 per cent in large countries like India will be made at the same rate as the transition from 40 to 70 per cent. The last 30 per cent in any population to enrol tends to include those living in remote areas and scattered settlements, people whose life-style must change if children's services are withdrawn from the family, the lower ability groups, the sick and disabled, various kinds of minorities to whom the culture purveyed in the school is repugnant. It is extremely expensive and administratively time-consuming to make provision for these people.

All in all then one must conclude that although the World's Bank's assessment would appear – from its own figures – somewhat too gloomy, it is going to require a very considerable effort over a long period to attain universal education in poor and sparsely populated countries.

If space allowed, I would wish to look more closely at other parts of the Bank's analysis of current educational problems in developing countries and in particular at its endorsement of two currently fashionable criticisms. First, the working paper alleges that 'the failure of the (education) systems to respond to countries' needs is accentuated by the fact that educational institutions have been borrowed from developed countries and have not acquired an indigenous character' (p. 20). What does such a statement – which would appear to apply equally to the civil service, monthly salaries and pensions, matches, high-yield rice, trades unions, the combustion engine, factories, christianity, bicycles, the presidency, and football – usefully tell us? After how many centuries shall we be permitted to regard village primary schools which are attended by indigenous pupils, patronised

*The list, established by the World Bank, is based on *per capita* GNP, and is not the same as the list of the twenty-five least-developed countries established by the United Nations and based on a combination of indicators. See *Prospects, Quarterly Review of Education*. Paris: Unesco. Vol. V, No. 1, 1975, p. 46 *et seq.*

by indigenous parents, staffed by indigenous teachers and quite frequently teaching in indigenous languages – as part of the fabric of local society and culture? Hardly more specific is the other oft-repeated criticism that education is 'dysfunctional for most types of employment with "most students" feeling a strong sense of failure together with an alienation from their original environment' (p. 21). If this were really true it is difficult to see how economic and social systems – let alone educational systems – could possibly survive. This leads one to reflect on the rather sad fact that identification of problems tends – in general, not just in this working paper – to claim more attention than understanding of adjustment mechanisms. Forecasts of imminent collapse or disruptive action by alienated school-leavers hit the headlines. But should we not stop to reflect more often that school leavers do adjust to the adult world; they do find occupations, if not paid jobs; there are *not* ten thousand graduates and a hundred thousand school leavers demonstrating daily outside the parliament buildings. On this specific point, hopefully, the 'cohort analysis' approach to planning which the Bank wishes to develop (p. 44) will be useful in increasing our understanding of adjustment processes. More generally, however, one might wish to see someone write a book called 'How the World coped with the World Educational Crisis'. It is after all eight years since Philip Coombs produced his influential study† for the Williamsburg Conference; and the patient is still breathing. What happened? Did the patient take Coombs's medicine? Did he reveal previously unanalysed recuperative powers? Was the diagnosis incomplete?

Policies

The policy options part of the working paper – dispersed though it is under five headings – is useful in setting out alternative policy approaches. In this particular respect, the sector working paper represents a step forward from the Faure Report* which, for all its breadth of vision and enunciation of excellent principles, perhaps did not concentrate enough on the concrete forms that implementation might take.

One does not have to accept every policy advocated or conclusion reached in order to profit from reading the policy notions of the paper. Many people will find useful the outlining of alternative policy options and alternative theories underlining them, the discussion of the advantages of different courses of action, the challenge to traditional forms or organization and ways of thought. We have here a valuable

†Coombs, Philip H., *The World Educational Crisis: A Systems Analysis*. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.

*Faure, E. *et al.*, *Learning to Be. Report of the International Commission on the Development of Education*. Paris: Unesco, 1972.

agenda for further exploration of the issues in international educational development.

Admittedly, the agenda has its limitations. It is a banker's and not an educator's agenda. We don't meet many teachers, pupils or classrooms in this report. There is not a great deal in it about curricular content or method; but a great deal about efficiency, inputs and outputs. Some of the suggestions educators might well consider sound, like the need to spend a higher percentage of the education budget on books and materials. But other parts many would think naïve, such as the advocacy of larger class sizes without specifying what kind of educational experience learners are to have; we all know that a lecture is audible by more than forty pupils but how many can be supervized doing practical work at one time by one teacher? There is throughout a tendency to regard education primarily as an instrument to provide skills needed by the economy; and to regard efficiency as being synonymous with lower financial outlays per pupil. The principle enunciated at the beginning of the working paper that the social dimensions of development are as important as the economic, is in fact given little practical expression in the discussion of the content and style of education.

With these general reservations, and a number of more specific ones it is only fair to acknowledge that there is a great deal that is useful in the sections on skills, equity, efficiency and planning. The emphasis on improved nutrition of expectant mothers and of young children, and the well balanced observations on the use of mass media are cases in point. It seems extraordinary, however, that the equity section has no real discussion of distributional problems on the supply side, such as how to get good teachers into remote areas and how to organize satisfactory provision at reasonable cost for scattered populations.

The discussion of mass participation however, gives grounds for the greatest misgiving. Why so, when the Bank is merely making explicit the wisdom which is coming from all sides – Unesco, Unicef, the International Council for Educational Development (ICED), aid agencies and development institutes? First because, as already indicated, this working paper does not produce convincing evidence that mass participation in the sense of enrolment in formal schools is not being gradually achieved. Second, because although the phrase 'mass participation' is being used in this working paper, what is really indicated is 'mass exposure'. Participation is an active concept; exposure is a passive one. What the World Bank is really suggesting is that we should extend to as many people as possible what (we believe) is good for them, or what the economy and society need. This is evident in the President of the Bank's introduction where he says that 'skills should be developed selectively in response to specific and urgent needs, by training the right people for the right jobs' (p. ii) and still more

definitely in the advocacy of basic education whose 'objectives and content . . . are functionally defined in terms of "minimum learning needs" of especially identified groups' (p. 30). But identified by *whom* is the question. And later 'the "delivery system" of basic education will take different forms in different countries (re-structured primary schools, non-formal programmes or various combinations of the two) adapted to different clientèles and to constraints upon resources. The costs will play a predominant role in the choice of educational technologies of basic education programmes' (p. 30). Again *who* will adapt and *who* will choose? Is the whole approach to needs and relevance a truly democratic one, or is it paternalistic with much more concern about prescribed 'minimum learning needs' than autonomously identified 'maximum learning opportunities'?

The same strand of thought appears to run through much of the discussion about co-ordinated rural development, with its 'coherent strategy for rural education', 'total education delivery systems' and the like. Up to a point, what is being suggested is only common sense – eliminate duplication and strive for co-operation between the different branches of government. But the idea of a comprehensive package meeting all the needs of an area or of groups of individuals is frightening, implying as it does an omniscience and organizational sophistication which is difficult to achieve. More important, it overlooks the fact that the best and most economical integrator is the individual himself, who might well prefer to select from the shop shelves what he wants, rather than have a pre-packed Christmas hamper. Why should he have to buy turkey, mince pies, and Christmas crackers, if all he wants is plum pudding? Is our model of development to be based on prescription by central planners or choice by learners?

Third, this leads on to the question whether the basic education programmes proposed by the Bank for the low-income countries would be acceptable. Three of the main features are likely to be downright unpopular. These are (i) some will get formal primary schooling, but others 'parallel programmes'; (ii) age of entry and length of study should be reconsidered, both for primary schools and other parallel schemes – a later start for a shorter course of study is seen as a way to reduce costs in order to broaden participation in education; and (iii) new and diversified programmes are designed to take into account the terminal character of lower levels of education for the large majority of the participants' (p. 31). The Bank foresees that parents will object that this is to create a dual system with a standard primary school providing access to higher levels of formal education and a second rate parallel structure which is terminal: they will say that it offends against equality of opportunity and threatens educational quality. 'These views are based, however, on an assumption that conventional primary schooling can accommodate all children within a reasonable time.

This assumption is unrealistic for low-income countries . . .' (p. 31).

The implicit suggestion is that 'these views' are based on a miscalculation and will be changed when the mathematics of the situation is explained to parents. The theory seems to be that parents may be persuaded to accept the built-in discrimination and unfairness of a dualistic system if it is pointed out to them, with impeccable logic, that not everyone can be privileged. Moreover the Bank hints that parental fears over equality of educational opportunity under a dualistic system are misplaced since 'adequate methods and criteria of selection can be designed which preserve the chances for selective educational promotion of children and youths receiving non-formal education in proportions not too different from those in the formal primary cycle' (p. 34). This is a far-reaching claim and since the Bank does not divulge the formula it has in mind one is entitled to remain highly sceptical. Scepticism may also be an appropriate reaction to the Bank's alternative proposal that more children should be accommodated in the early primary grades by introducing a grade 4 selective examination into a six-year primary cycle (p. 34).

The bitterness of Africans in Kenya when the Beecher Committee introduced precisely this reform in 1949 and the alarm felt by Ethiopian parents at the Sector Review Committee proposals, suggest that these changes can only be imposed (as was indeed done by the colonial government in Kenya). What is in question here is not the Bank's mathematics, nor its logic; nor yet its intentions, for one must accept that the suggestions are designed to produce a fairer distribution of educational resources. The point is that rational solutions to educational problems must be more than purely technical and mathematical constructs, as the Bank itself half recognizes when it says, 'Designing politically feasible alternatives and preparing technical solutions which avoid political tensions are formidable challenges for educational planners' (p. 43). They can say that again!

Fourthly and lastly, one needs to put some questions about the basic education proposals. How can a later entry age be squared with the need asserted by educational psychologists for children to receive educational help and encouragement from the very earliest years? How do we reconcile it with equality, for experience suggests that the 'well-to-do' will simply increase their advantage in private nursery schools or play groups if the age of entry to formal school is raised? Are shorter courses really compatible with mastery and retention by the learner? Do we have good evidence that non-formal education is really cheaper than the rock-bottom costs of primary school in many poor countries – will not some of the proposals for diversified programmes of a terminal nature raise costs quite considerably? Can learning groups of an economic size be organized especially in rural areas, if real account is to be taken of multiple roles in the community, or will it be necessary to

serve up a standard package to everybody, as in the formal school system?

One wonders indeed whether this concentration on basic education as the central issue may not represent a piece of massive mistiming. Given the Bank's current priorities it is ironical that in the 1960s when, as the statistics show, the developing countries were making a massive effort in primary education, there was a distinct lack of sympathy from the Bank for what they were doing at the first level. It would be a pity if in the 1970s and 1980s the World Bank were deliberately to choose for itself the role of unsympathetic critic of the efforts of developing countries to achieve mass lower secondary education. For I would argue that in many developing countries access to some secondary schooling is going to be the key educational issue for the majority of the population – though not perhaps for the very poorest. This is a perfectly natural extension and development of past trends and there are strong grounds for supporting such a programme. Parents understand only too well a basic point that does not always seem to be sufficiently grasped elsewhere: which is that six of seven years education will leave their children high and dry at the age of twelve or thirteen, physically and emotionally immature and without the stamina to fulfil adult jobs and roles. The fifteen-year-old can survive in the adult world in a way that the thirteen-year-old generally cannot. This is, of course, the thought behind President Nyerere's proposal in *Education for Self-Reliance** – taken up again in this paper by the Bank – that primary school should start at age seven or later. Such a move would only be acceptable if it could be shown that the over-all learning potential of children would not suffer through a late school start, that later graduation of those who continued through secondary and higher education did not unduly matter, and that it would not put poorer children at a grave disadvantage vis-à-vis ones from more prosperous families.

Quite apart from this, it is possible that a widely available junior secondary stage may help the primary school to improve quality in a number of ways. The literacy acquired in the primary school needs to be consolidated if it is to last; better educated teachers for primary may be produced through this route; and if the first major competitive examination can be deferred from grade 4 to grade 9, this gives at least a chance of liberating the curriculum of the primary school from examination pressures. It seems to me therefore that as well as being inevitable this trend has many positive features.

However, one can already see clearly the potential lines of criticism coming from two opposite directions. On the one hand expansion of lower secondary education will be attacked as élitist and inegalitarian so long as some citizens do not have primary education. The

*Nyerere, Julius. *Education for Self-Reliance*. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Government Printer, 1976, pp. 14 and 24.

strength of this argument depends partly on the intensity of interest in schooling of those not yet enrolled and how easily and cheaply they can be reached; for as my colleague Hugh Hawes has remarked, there is a limit beyond which it makes no further sense to pursue Tuaregs into the desert in the quest for equity.* On the other side it will be said that lower secondary education is wasteful because it does not produce specific skills needed for economic development. The Bank does indeed see that 'the development of secondary and post-secondary levels of education will take a more central place in the education strategies of the middle – and higher-income countries' (p. 48), but it goes on immediately to interpret this as meaning that 'where first-level education is already widely available, the development of skills to meet the needs of increasingly sophisticated economies will have priority'. It seems to me more than doubtful whether this last observation accurately represents the forces at work in most societies and the kind of education for twelve-to fifteen-year-olds that can or will in fact be provided. But however that may be, I would like to enter a strong plea that the same kind of interest, research and experimental effort as seems likely to be lavished on basic education should in fact be devoted to the problems of devising acceptable and appropriate modes and contents of lower secondary education and that the same kind of tangible support should be available for its expansion.

The Bank's Lending Programme

Finally – yet inevitably leaving many stones unturned – we come to the problem of what the Bank itself can do to further its aims, in particular, the basic education programme. On the face of it, there are few more unlikely fields for a bank – and an external bank at that – to assist, than primary-level education. This would be true of any external bank, because the main costs in the first-level education are recurrent local costs, whereas banks like to finance imported capital goods. It will be all the more difficult for the World Bank whose procedures are much more suitable for the easily supervised big project than for a host of smaller dispersed ones. The scale of some of the locally based non-formal programmes that might be envisaged is too small to warrant the cost of normal Bank supervision procedures. Much more flexibility will be required as the Bank apparently recognizes (p. 60), and it even holds out the possibility of paying operating costs of experimental and teacher training projects.

In this connection, it is quite difficult to understand the Bank's optimism about its lending for primary and basic education in future. The intention is to push up lending in this sector from 11 per cent in 1972-74 to 27 per cent over the period 1974-78. The main off-setting

*See below, Report of Proceedings, p. 85.

decline will be in higher education lending from 41 per cent of the total over the period 1972-74 to only 30 per cent in the next period. (Incidentally, it is nowhere explained why, given the new policy, higher education's share of the lending rose from 23 per cent in 1963-71 to 41 per cent in 1972-74 – see table 8 of the paper, p. 51.) The questions immediately arise – what forms can the assistance to basic and primary education take? Secondly, can countries be found to absorb it?

As for the first question, it would appear that only by counting, say, primary teacher training colleges and book production schemes as 'primary education' could the target be met. Table 8 of the paper shows that over the period 1974-78 54 per cent of all expenditure will be construction and 37 per cent equipment and furniture. It is difficult to imagine how low-level institutions operating in the area of primary education could absorb very much of this type of input. The largest increases by curricula, however, are in agriculture and health, suggesting that building and equipment for basic training institutions could figure quite largely.

Then there is the question of finding countries to absorb the primary/basic education allocation. The Bank's educational lending in 1974 was divided between Bank high-interest loans and IDA low-interest credits in the ratio 134:19 – the poorest countries (Group I in Table I) tend to receive the credits. This was not, of course, what the Bank intended, but was mainly due to shortage of IDA funds. So, on the supply side, there is an obvious potential constraint. On the demand side, a close look at the lending over the period 1972-74 suggests that very few of the poorest countries took loans for primary, or basic non-formal, education. In fact, of all the projects in the period 1972-74, I could identify only thirteen projects which were indisputably of this type. Nine of these were to middle-income countries and only four (Indonesia, Tanzania, Upper Volta, Ethiopia) to very poor countries (Annex 5, p. 69).

Which leads on to a final question. How is it that the Bank reconciles the precision of its lending intentions with the sovereignty of the recipients? Has the Bank in fact decided in advance what they will want? It is perhaps significant that the Bank does not mention possible lack of interest in Bank priorities among four possible factors tending to limit its ability to carry out its proposals (p. 60). It may well prove right. But by taking its stand on the line that 'The World Bank stands ready to help those countries which look and do not like all they see' (p. ii) it runs a grave risk of 'buying' conversions to its new thinking. The self-reliant who are making progress, who believe in their own approach and want help in expanding and improving their existing provision may qualify less readily for help. One is reminded of Shaw's play *Major Barbara*, and of how Snobby Price 'earned' his keep at the Salvation Army Hostel:

RUMMY: Who saved you, Mr Price? Was it Major Barbara?

PRICE: No: I come here on my own, I'm going to be Bronterre O'Brien Price, the converted painter. I know wot they like, I'll tell em how I blasphemed and gambled and wopped my poor old mother . . .

RUMMY (shocked): Used you to beat your mother?

PRICE: Not likely. She used to beat me. No matter: you come and listen to the converted painter, and you'll hear how she was a pious woman that taught me me prayers at er knee, an how I used to come home drunk and drag her out o bed be er snow white airs, an lam into er with the poker.*

For aid donors to specify a change of heart as a condition for support is a course fraught with danger both for themselves and the recipients – Snobby Price, be it noted, was in serious trouble at home when his mother heard about his confession.

Time alone will tell. But already I believe I can hear the column of pilgrims practising their confessions as they make their way up the mountain, and nervously asking each other whether the definition of sin will still be the same when they reach the summit of Mount Olympus.

*Shaw, Bernard. *Major Barbara*. Penguin Plays edition. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1974, p. 77. (Acknowledgment: The Society of Authors on behalf of the Bernard Shaw Estate.)

Reflections on the 1974 Education Sector Working Paper

John Oxenham

The World Bank's diagnosis of the state of schools and other educational institutions in the developing countries is comprehensive, confirms and in places clarifies what is known: every component needs to be upgraded, reshaped or replaced. One might have wished for a fuller delineation of the relationships between different kinds of institutions and the economic and political structures of a state, but perhaps an unacceptable level of speculation would have been involved. Here I would like to take up a few points.

The paper is to be welcomed on several counts. First among them is the emphasis on basic and primary education for all, through or independently of, the school, coupled with the willingness to shift the Bank's money where its mouth is. Whatever the reasons in terms of human rights or human capital, they are reinforced by one of the natural ironies of the interplay between school systems and labour markets. The irony may be stated in the form of two hypotheses. One: where schools and universities turn out graduates at several levels each denoting substantial differences in investment, quality and potential productivity, concern about supplies of graduates surplus to demand in the salaried sector will tend to focus on the highest level of surplus graduate. Two: the intensity of concern at any given level is inversely proportional to the increase of the surplus. Where primary school and secondary school graduates both find it hard to get the jobs they want, official attention will focus on the latter, even though the former may be increasing at double or treble the latter's rate. In an extreme case, e.g. Indonesia, when higher degree graduates appear in as great difficulties as primary school graduates, the latter may even be declassified as 'educated unemployed'. Spreading the school in effect undermines the status it confers, deprives the schooled of eligibility to be treated as a special group, lowers their hopes and expectations of immediate jobs, makes them more willing to accept previously

unattractive possibilities, and relieves the pressures on the ruling and administrative groups.* An acceptance of these hypotheses would predicate a policy of multiplying as speedily as possible the graduates of a lower level until saturation was reached; and then proceeding equally rapidly with the next level up. That such extreme thinking is not behind the paper's proposals, however, is shown by its continuing commitment to spreading the school on three levels at once, albeit in a more even-handed fashion. Nevertheless, since the unit costs differ so considerably between levels and types of schooling, the Bank's decision to increase by some 250 per cent its proportional allocation to primary and basic education (p. 51) should help first to generate striking growth in participation in such programmes; and, second, so to overshadow numbers in the secondary and tertiary levels, as to bring about a decline in status, expectations and so on.

At the same time, the paper is not content that universal education should be assumed to be attainable through the sole medium of the primary school. That institution will continue for those with already high primary enrolments. But, for those not so far entrenched and working under severe financial constraints, a diversity of institutions is envisaged. The paper goes so far as to suggest, in the more extreme cases, 'a *substitute* for non-existent primary schools' (p. 52, my italics).

Substitution is feasible only where the proposed substitute fulfils satisfactorily at least the major purposes of what is already used or desired. The purposes of the primary school, as the paper acknowledges, are not merely those assigned by the government or by the school-teachers. They include those assigned by the families who put their children in school. The paper sees (p. 21) that there is a dissonance between the purposes of the larger government and those of the pupils' families. Both parties do indeed perceive the school as a mechanism for modernization. But, whereas the one insists – and exhorts – that modernization is worthwhile and necessary not merely for instant life with good wages and secured salaries, but also and more so, for varieties of self-employment; the other persists in behaving as though modernization is worthwhile *only* if it maximizes the hope of a modern life; and, further, as though any item, which might hinder such maximization, must be excised from the process of modernization in the school. The latter's view seems so far to have prevailed unwaveringly over the former's. The century-old list of attempts to make school 'relevant to the needs' either of the majorities of students or of the communities whence they came, is long and of almost unrelieved depression. Fresh essays in Peru, Uganda, Indonesia, Tanzania, the Philippines, Sri Lanka have, so far as I know, not yet been evaluated and their

*This does not deny that simultaneously anxiety to get into the next level of education intensifies, so that demand grows and places the ruling groups under a different form of pressure – to which they have generally been able to capitulate.

effects fully explained. In other words, up to now the primary school had been able to meet the requirements of the modern sector only, i.e. select those proportions which can proceed for more schooling and give a basic academic credential for the lowest entry points of wage and salary employment. It has not been able to prepare people for non-modern lives.

The paper seeks for the primary school a substitute or supplement which can do not merely what the school does, but which can also succeed where the school has failed. It grants, therefore, that any substitute must be fully competitive with the school in providing access to more schooling and basic equipment to enter the quest for modern jobs. 'Adequate methods and criteria of selection can be designed which preserve the chances for selective educational promotion of children and youths receiving non-formal basic education in proportions not too different from those in the formal primary circle', is the confident challenge the paper throws in the teeth of history (p. 32). Why such a simple matter could not have been settled earlier and enabled the school to be 'relevant', is not a question the paper discusses.

More importantly, while it explicitly admits the crucial role of selective mechanisms, the paper omits them altogether in listing the components of a many-sided effort in basic/primary education (pp. 52-54). How shall it be decided which graduates from which competing, differently organized forms of education with different content shall gain entry to higher forms? How shall employers, who presently use academic performance as their prime touchstone of the quality of the human capital on offer, be provided with superior alternatives?

A recent study in the Sudan by Bikas Sanyal* showed that, of fifty one employing organizations – most of them in the public sector – 37·5 per cent said that academic performance (at the university level, it is to be noted) corresponded highly with job performance, 50·98 per cent said the correspondence was only moderate, and most of the remainder, a tiny minority, said there was no correspondence at all. If the Sudanese employers are representative of employers around the world, the alternatives to academic performance will need to be plausible indeed – which requirement surely demands an explicit and perhaps massive commitment of research, experimental and development effort in methods of assessment, grading and credentialling. Why does the paper acknowledge the need (p. 32) and yet not provide for it?

While the need for a *competitive* substitute or supplement to the school is clear in perhaps most countries or communities, there are of course a few areas where the substitute need *not* be competitive. There are communities, who may or may not have primary schools, but who

*Sanyal, B. C. and El Sammani, A. Y. *Higher Education and Employment in the Sudan*. Paris: International Institute of Educational Planning, 1975.

do not want them and do not send their children to them. If planners propose incorporating such people in the modern world in a limited way, it may well be possible to devise an instructional unit, derived from the content of specific social and economic development plans, on the one hand, and from the life patterns of the community, on the other, to serve the entire age-range of the particular community. But it is only in such a circumstance that objective (a) on page 52 and the first paragraph on page 53 can be squared.

Although a *non-competitive* substitute for the primary school might be feasible in areas of low demand for schools, in areas of high demand and inadequate supply it would probably be workable only either at a greater cost or at a greatly lesser effectiveness than the primary school itself. Even though such an institution might present itself as a custodial, holding centre, willing to care for a child constructively until a primary school place becomes available the problems of acquiring trained staff, an adequate staffing ratio, attractive equipment to stimulate learning, would more than likely rule it out of court.

In any case, where demand is high, a supplement, competitive or non-competitive, would attract mainly those who had either dropped out of the primary school or who were for some reason disbarred from it. Its likely success in helping its learners achieve their objectives, would need to be carefully estimated in the light of experience with evening classes, correspondence courses, polyvalent centres, literacy programmes, rural extension courses, radio farm forums and other forms of extended instruction.

In sum, while the paper is right to stress the need for basic/primary education, it should also give much more emphasis to the needs for research and long-term experiments in substitutes and supplements. (It might have assisted its own thinking here if it had categorized Bank spending on 'outlay' not by construction, equipment and technical assistance only, but had inserted a head for research and experiment as well). Particularly should it attend to the issues of sorting, grading and selecting, credentialling and their effects on motivation and demand.

The paper accepts the three-tier structure (and therefore grading and selection) as a permanent feature of schooling. Its authority for this stance is the judgment of Bank Staff Working Paper No. 169: 'In general, it can be stated that there is no conclusive evidence that shows one type of training to be superior to others in terms of a cost-effectiveness criterion'. It would be fairer to say that this conclusion, drawn as it is from a small body of unsatisfactory literature, is only the plausible operational assumption on which is based continued support for vocational secondary and tertiary educational institutions; for the *Education Sector Working Paper* does undertake to keep the matter open for investigation (p. 55). Nevertheless,

the paper does not explore a related issue, possibly more vital to its own objectives. Whether or not school education is as cost-effective as other forms of occupational training, the upper levels of school affect the lower in a way in which no form of out-of-school occupational training does. Quite simply, they make the chief operational purpose of the lower level entry to the upper, and narrow curricula and activities accordingly. If, to increase productivity and opportunities is to be the objective of lower-level schooling, the curriculum should be sighted accordingly on productive opportunities beyond the school, and not distracted by the mechanisms which offer selection to more schooling and even more golden opportunities. Hence, the point the paper should provide for is less comparisons of cost-effectiveness and more elucidation of indeliberate deleterious effects on other levels of education.

It is apposite, in connection with research and experiment, to touch on technical assistance; for these two areas are heavily influenced, if not dominated by expatriates, either working in a host country or training its nationals elsewhere. Indeed, among the ironies of education in developing countries is the contrast between the articulate depreciation of irrelevant school systems imposed or imported from outside and the prominence in current educational research and innovation of even more outsiders. Two connections might even be hypothesized: the larger the presence of outsiders, the larger the volume of effort at reform or innovation; the more numerous the innovations engineered by outsiders, the lower the rate of permanent adoption. The connections might well be the outcome of the long-standing rule that, where technical assistance is offered in the form of an adviser/consultant/trainer, the body chosen must not be a national of the host country. In an almost glancing phrase, the paper gives promise of breaching this custom and perhaps of opening a more fruitful phase of technical assistance: *local* experts will be utilized where possible (p. 54).

The phrase occurs in the context of secondary activities. One would hope that its intent stretches to research and experiment. No one would expect sudden revolution in insights, syntheses or action. Nevertheless, by expanding the opportunities and incentives for local persons systematically to explore how varieties of needs and drives might be benefited by educational institutions, the paper may assist the roots of reform to take a more substantial and enduring hold.

The Rediscovery of Poverty: A Review of Aid Policies in Education

James R. Sheffield

The publication of its *Education Sector Working Paper* by the World Bank in December 1974 marked the culmination of a series of policy reviews by donor agencies of their programmes in education.[1] Perhaps the best known was the report of the prestigious Faure Commission, *Learning to Be*, done for Unesco, but the so-called 'Bellagio Conferences' on education were perhaps more influential as they involved all of the major Western donor agencies, both public and private.[2] A study commissioned by the Bellagio Consortium on the subject of basic education was completed just after the World Bank *Education Sector Working Paper* and reinforced the commitment towards basic education on the part of the donor agencies.[3] The World Bank's reassessment of its educational policies was also considerably influenced by studies conducted for them and for Unicef by the International Council for Educational Development (ICED) under the direction of Philip H. Coombs, and should be seen in relation to the Bank's subsequent *Rural Development Sector Policy Paper*.[4] US Aid commissioned several studies of non-formal education by the African-American Institute and Michigan State University,[5] and the International Development Research Centre in Canada commissioned an extensive review of education and development by Roby Kidd.[6]

Despite the wide range of purposes and approaches, these – and other – studies shared to a remarkable degree common concerns about education and development. All of the reports were critical of the orientation of school systems around the world towards the urban, modern sector, despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of people in developing countries live in rural areas. While noting the impressive quantitative expansion of formal school systems, the reports bemoaned the lack of qualitative improvements in adopting systems which were inherited or borrowed from industrialized

countries to their own needs. The rapidly rising costs of education, both on a per-pupil basis and as a proportion of national budgets, raised serious questions of whether governments could provide even minimal educational opportunities for their rural population within the foreseeable future.

These symptoms were recognized by some observers by the mid-1960s, and a conference on education, employment and rural development held at Kericho, Kenya in 1966 and a much larger conference on the 'World Crisis in Education' held at Williamsburg, Virginia in 1967 helped focus attention on the issues.[7] Although Philip Coombs's book *The World Educational Crisis* was a major milestone in calling for a reorientation in educational development, President Julius Nyerere's famous policy statement, *Education for Self-Reliance* may be of greater significance in the long run as it represents a commitment on the part of a Third World government to actually *do* what the outsiders write about.[8]

In this paper* I will examine the World Bank's *Education Sector Working Paper* within the framework of other recent policy papers of donor agencies and of some of the issues it raises. In this exercise I will not attempt to summarize the reports but will analyse them with particular concern for their implications for the rural poor.

As indicated above, all of the recent reviews of education and development have focused heavily on what has come to be known as the 'equity' issue. Researchers and policy-makers have increasingly been concerned that access to educational opportunity is not distributed equitably throughout populations (and these inequalities may be analysed by geographic location, sex, ethnic, racial or religious affiliation or other characteristics). Furthermore, education may actually widen existing gaps between rural and urban areas, and between socio-economic groups. Until recently most of the research on education and equality was done in the industrialized countries, but – stimulated in part by the donors – researchers in developing countries are increasingly turning their attention to these issues.[9]

'Education and Social Justice' was a major section in the published report of the Bellagio Conferences on Education, and the relationship between education and social equality was a central focus of the prestigious ILO report on *Employment, Incomes and Equality in Kenya*.[10] These reports reflected the new perspectives on the development process which replaced the GNP and other aggregate indicators of progress with concerns for the *distribution* of resources and quality of life for the poorest segments of societies. The grim realization that even in countries with rapid economic growth, the lives of roughly half of

*Permission has also been given for this paper to appear in *Teachers College Record*, published by Teachers College, Columbia University, New York.

the population were often virtually unchanged led donor agencies to seek better ways of reaching the poorest groups.

This reorientation of development strategy has taken place to some extent in most donor agencies, but it received its greatest impetus from the World Bank whose President, Robert S. McNamara, drew international attention to the issue in his address to the Governors of the World Bank Group in Nairobi, September 24, 1973.

> Disparities in income will simply widen unless action is taken which will directly benefit the poorest. In my view, therefore, there is no viable alternative to increasing the productivity of small-scale agriculture if any significant advance is to be made in solving the problems of absolute poverty in the rural areas.
>
> The absolute poor are not merely a tiny minority of unfortunates – a miscellaneous collection of the losers in life – a regrettable but insignificant exception to the rule. On the contrary, they constitute roughly 40 per cent of the nearly two billion individuals living in the developing nations.
>
> Some of the absolute poor are in urban slums, but the vast bulk of them are in the rural areas. And it is there – in the countryside – that we must confront their poverty.[11]

The World Bank's *Rural Development Sector Policy Paper* published in February 1975 spells out McNamara's goal in more detail, defining the absolute poor as those 'with *per capita* incomes of $50 or less, plus others with *per capita* incomes that are less than one-third of the national average'.[12]

Turning to education, the World Bank was equally outspoken about the problems stating:

> Education systems have been *irrelevant* [italics mine] to the needs of developing countries during the last two decades because education policies were often keeping company with over-all development strategies which were themselves irrelevant. Emphasis on the development of the modern economic sector, providing employment to a small and intensively trained elite, leads to the neglect of the 60-80 per cent of the population living in sectors characterized by traditionally lower productivity.[13]

The report goes on to discuss five basic issues which shaped the new policies: (a) the development of functionally relevant skills, integrated with over-all rural development strategies; (b) mass participation in education and development through the integrated use of expanded primary schooling and complementary non-formal education programmes; (c) greater equity through equalizing educational opportunities and linking these to broader social policies; (d) increasing efficiency by defining objectives more specifically and making qualitative improvements to reduce wastage; (e) improving manage-

ment and planning including changes in the organization and finance of educational systems.

Four premises upon which the World Bank's policies are based derive from the above issues:

'(a) There should be at least a minimum basic education for all, as fully and as soon as available resources permit.

(b) Further education and training beyond the basic level should be provided selectively to improve, both quantitatively and qualitatively, the knowledge and skills necessary for the performance of economic, social and other developmental roles.

(c) A national education system should be viewed as a comprehensive system of learning, embracing formal, nonformal and informal education, all working with maximum possible internal and external efficiency.

(d) In the interests of both increased productivity and social equity, educational opportunities should be equalized as fully as possible.[14]

At first glance these recommendations, and much of the rest of the report and its companion pieces by other agencies, reflects the tendency to pontificate grand designs and oppose sin . . . for example, premise (c) above seems to urge all things for all men as efficiently as possible. However, it is important not to miss the significant shift in priorities from high-level, secondary education and technical training for a small élite to 'basic education' for all.

Basic Education: The World Bank defines basic education as:

> . . . an attempt, despite severe resource constraints, to meet the needs of substantial portions of the population who do not have access to even minimum educational opportunities. It is a supplement, not a rival, to the formal education system, and is intended to provide a functional, flexible and low-cost education for those whom the formal system cannot yet reach or has already passed by. Although the primary cycle may be its principal vehicle in many countries, it differs from the conventional concept of 'universal primary education' in three major respects:
>
> (i) the objectives and content of basic education are *functionally* defined in terms of 'minimum learning needs' of especially identified groups, and not as steps in the educational hierarchy . . .
>
> (ii) the 'target groups' of basic education are not necessarily school-age children. They may vary according to age, and socio-economic characteristics . . .
>
> (iii) the 'delivery systems' of basic education will take different forms in different countries (restructured primary schools, nonformal programs, or various combinations of the two) adopted to the needs of different clientèles and to constraints upon resources.[15]

I have quoted from the Bank's statement at some length because basic education has become a common goal of many of the donor

agencies. As a member of the Faure Commission, editor and organiser of the Bellagio Conferences and programme adviser in education to The Ford Foundation, F. Champion Ward has been in a strategic position to observe the recent deliberations. In Ward's view the trend could be summarized as 'basic education for the rural masses', whether the forces come 'in the form of Freire's conscientization, of the Faure Commission's insistence on individual fulfilment through education, or the voicing of the cause of the unbenefited millions by the President of the World Bank'.[16]

Although the term 'basic education' evoked memories of Gandhi's plans for India and various policies of Unesco for fundamental education, mass education, community development and related efforts, the 1970s version took a somewhat different slant. The issues received considerable attention at a 'meeting of experts on the basic cycle of study' held at Unesco in June 1974 in which it was emphasized that 'the basic cycle of education cannot be defined mainly in terms of duration' but must be determined by the learning needs required for the majority who will not be able to get further schooling and for the fortunate minority who will, within the context of lifelong education.[17] These concepts were further refined at meetings of Anglophone and Francophone African educators held in Nairobi in August and October 1974 under the auspices of Unesco and Unicef. The report, *Basic Education in Eastern Africa* refers particularly to the Faure Report, William Platt's paper submitted to the Bellagio Consortium and the studies of the ICED in defining the concept of basic education.[18]

Following a meeting of the Bellagio agency representatives at Stirling Forest, New York, in the Spring of 1974, Jinapala Alles of Unesco and Richard Sharpe of The Ford Foundation were commissioned: '(1) to inventory the several Bellagio agencies' cooperation with developing countries in basic education; and (2) to analyse and organise such information for review and discussion by the Bellagio agencies; keeping in mind that the agencies will wish to see what collective action, if any, by some or all of the agencies might advance progress in basic education.'[19]

In carrying out their mission Alles and Sharpe made considerable efforts to consult with experts from developing countries and to define what the concept of basic education implies, since they encountered wide ranges of opinion. The resulting report is an extremely useful document, particularly in its summary of donor agencies' policies and its identification of illustrative initiatives in basic education in developing countries. Despite differences between agencies, Alles and Sharpe defined the donors' common goal for basic education: 'Expand and improve opportunities for the kinds of learning fundamental to life and work so as to meet as soon as pos-

sible at least the minimum needs of all.'[20] They went on to note that most donors felt that there is no fixed minimum package applicable to all groups but that the substance and process of basic education should be determined for each group, and preferably by each group to the degree that this is feasible.

In addition to the World Bank's, Unesco's and the Bellagio Consortium's emphasis on basic education, Roby Kidd urged a commitment to 'basic educational entitlement' for everyone and the Faure Commission called for 'lifelong education' unrestricted by levels. Philip Coombs *et al.* defined 'minimum learning needs' to enable people to function in economic, social and political activities. The critical question is how to identify minimum learning needs for different individuals or groups. Philip Coombs and his colleagues in the International Council for Educational Development included 'functional literacy and numeracy (skill in using numbers), knowledge and skills for productive activity, family planning and health, child care, nutrition, sanitation and knowledge required for civic participation.'[21]

In some of the most ambitious efforts to determine how learning needs can be identified and developed, Jinapala Alles has identified four categories of 'life skills objectives', differentiated by age and needs. These are life skills objectives: (1) for young persons in the home-family; (2) for young persons *preparing* for organizational-occupational living; (3) for adults in the home-family; (4) for adults *involved* in organizational-occupational living.[22] Alles recognised that it would be unrealistic to expect all groups to achieve all desirable learning achievements, so he urged that each community (or individual) select only a few based on its own objectives. Alles emphasized the need to identify actual '*learning wants* as seen by the community and the learners at a given point of time' instead of imputing learning needs of others. However, he recognized that 'participation itself is costly from the point of view of time and other resources', so that the degree of participation will vary considerably due to local constraints.[23]

One of the few cases where such an effort has been tried out is in the Seameo Regional Centre for Educational Innovation and Technology (Innotech) in Saigon. This project set out to answer the question of what learning should take place if a child can only get four or five years of formal schooling. The experiment to identify and communicate what they called 'life-skills objectives' was tried out in the Philippines and the results have attracted considerable attention.[24]

Although it would be unrealistic to expect the World Bank *Education Sector Working Paper* to go into the detail that Jinapala Alles or the Innotech study have done, the sweeping assertions of

what is wrong and what needs to be done deserve closer examination. Perhaps the most objectionable aspect of the paper is the Olympian tone with which the Bank condemns the remarkable expansion of educational systems throughout the Third World.[25] This criticism is ironic because: (a) at the secondary and higher levels, the Bank itself was a major source of support for what they now consider élitist, urban-oriented school systems, and (b) at the primary level, where the Bank and other critics condemned the 'linear expansion' of 'irrelevant' systems the developing countries were in fact responding to the social and political forces that the Bank has only recently decided are valid. Without denying the enormous difficulties in providing universal primary education in the poorest countries, and to the poorest groups in many other countries, the worldwide pressures for expanding primary education must be seen as a response to the equity issue . . . long before it was fashionable or articulated in neo-Marxian terminology.

Despite the fact that the World Bank makes a sharp distinction between basic education and primary education, this distinction will probably breakdown in practice because: (1) most countries already in fact see primary education as basic education. As Peter Williams has pointed out, it works for most people in most countries, despite the serious problem of the absolute poor;[26] (2) basic education confuses two very different processes; the education of children and the education of adults. This may be conceptually valid, but it is functionally unrealistic; (3) basic education suggests a dual system in which most children will receive four or five years terminal schooling (as opposed to terminal education) and a small minority will receive a form of primary education leading to further education.

One of the primary reasons that so few efforts to adapt school systems to 'practical' needs of a rural vocational nature have succeeded has been the resistance on the part of students, parents, teachers and other vested interests to accept a second-best alternative to the path of high status and high rewards. The World Bank *Education Sector Working Paper* recognized the dangers but felt that it might 'be possible to minimize or even eliminate the "dualism conflict" among the primary school age group by structural adjustments.'[27] While acknowledging the difficulties, however, the World Bank placed the burden of proof on its critics by noting that it would be impossible for low-income countries to achieve universal primary education by conventional means for the foreseeable future.[28]

The pedagogical issues raised by such questions indicates the Bank's distance from the schoolrooms in developing countries. Having participated in several commissions and policy reviews, F. Champion Ward was well aware that such exercises become far removed from actual classrooms, and he noted the tendency:

to generalize about the vast and various landscape which education presents to the viewing eye, at a happy distance from any particular place where education is going on. No actual students and no real teachers obstruct the view from those heady lookouts. The masses do not speak but are spoken for. The desirable is all too likely to overtake the possible, proclamations to replace hypotheses, and what should be enquiries to become crusades.[29]

Many of the recommendations being made on behalf of the poor are extremely difficult to carry out, even with the best of intentions. The non-directive, flexible style of pedagogy called for by such reformers as Freire, Holt, Goodman, Illich and others, would place enormous demands upon institutions selecting and training teachers. How can basic education be equitable, efficient, participatory, functional and flexible when rural schools cannot even teach reading effectively at present? When one reads the material of Philip Coombs or the World Bank's *Rural Development Sector Policy Paper*, one is struck by their ambitious scenario for effective rural development:

- integrated planning and administration among sectors
- a strong commitment at the national policy level
- decentralized planning and administration to the regional and local levels
- active participation by the people concerned in the planning and administration
- central coordination and leadership
- policy-oriented research on the technical, economic, social and other characteristics
- effective training programmes, especially at the local and district levels
- effective intermediaries (marketing systems, cooperatives).[30]

While these factors may be vital elements in a strategy of rural development, it is unlikely that any one of them is present to a significant degree in the poorest parts of the poorest countries. And the likelihood of attaining *all* the necessary ingredients in areas of extreme poverty is almost inconceivable. In fact, as will be discussed below, the poor are poor precisely because these – and other – institutions are so weak or non-existent. Even the most basic education will require carefully planned materials, well trained teachers and efficient administrators (especially if the programme is going to be as flexible, relevant and cost-effective as many advocate), and there are no short-cuts to achieving these goals, in the foreseeable future.

A particularly unrealistic statement on the way to achieve major change in an education system can be found in the conclusion of the World Bank paper:

> Change will normally begin through a *comprehensive study* (italics mine) of the sector as a whole which assesses broadly the degree to which the country's total learning system responds to its developmental objectives and needs.[31]

This macroview of the educational scene may be valid for certain policy changes, but at the microlevel, where policies must be implemented, it ignores the thousands of teachers and administrators who cannot be changed overnight by a study, no matter how comprehensive.

In urging a shift in educational priorities from the academic systems serving urban élites to basic education for the rural masses the World Bank was well aware that many countries would not go along with such recommendations. In the field of education the question is whether the élites (including vast numbers of civil servants, farmers and businessmen) would accept 'minimum basic education' for their children. Similarly, the implications of a shortened period of teacher training mentioned by the World Bank as a possible cost-saving do not concern pedagogical or technical issues so much as the political reality of whether a reform of this nature could be introduced given the size and power of teachers' associations in most countries.[32] In fact, the failure to involve the teachers' association adequately in the much-touted Education Sector Review in Ethiopia (funded in part by the World Bank) contributed to the subsequent instability.

When one reads the *Education Sector Working Paper* along with the World Bank's recent policy papers on land reform and rural development one is very struck by the socialist orientation, especially when uttered by the former president of the Ford Motor Company, Robert McNamara. The *International Herald Tribune* noted:

> The World Bank, widely regarded by world radicals as a pillar of the US dominated capitalist world order, has turned to financing Africa's most radical socialist experiments. In Tanzania, Algeria, Somalia and Ethiopia. . . . In some cases the World Bank has become a crucial factor in the continuing stability of these socialist governments.[33]

For the less radical countries, the question is to what extent the ruling élites will be willing to sacrifice their newly-gained wealth and power in favour of the rural masses that they recently escaped from. In a scathing critique of the ILO report on Kenya, Colin Leys concludes that such a sacrifice on the part of the élite would be unthinkable.[34]

In conclusion then, the World Bank's *Education Sector Working Paper* must be seen in its political context as a call for radical and far-reaching structural reforms throughout the Third World. The Bank recognizes that 'in some developing countries, present policies and institutional structures are so far from favourable to rural develop-

ment that a policy shift could only follow a major political change.'[35] But, given the amount of resources that the World Bank plans to commit to rural development, dealing with the Bank may be like dealing with the godfather, who makes offers which one cannot refuse.

In reviewing the donors' interest in basic education Alles and Sharpe noted that 'the principal interest is in extending learning services to those who have been deprived.'[36] At our meeting at the University of London Institute of Education, May 19, 1975, Hugh Hawes noted that 'there are limits to the extent to which it is practical to pursue Tuaregs, or other nomads, into the desert in the quest for equity', and Kenneth King remarked that the aid agencies recent concern for the absolute poor was quite parallel to the missionaries' earlier concerns for the untouchables, prostitutes and disabled persons that governments rarely provided for.[37] There is a significant distinction, of course, between assisting the absolute poor within the existing framework, and supporting structural changes of the social and political system. The Bank and other donor agencies should be applauded for their increasing commitment to the rural poor, but they need to recognize the complexity of the problems and the limited role they can play in dealing with them.

Notes

1. World Bank, *Education Sector Working Paper* (Washington: World Bank, 1974).
2. **Faure, E.** *et al.*, *Learning to Be* (Paris: Unesco-Harrap, 1972); and **F. Champion Ward** (ed.) *Education and Development Reconsidered: A Report of The Bellagio Conferences on Education* (New York: Praeger, 1974).
3. **Alles, Jinapala** and **Sharpe, Richard,** 'Report of the Mission on Basic Education to Agencies Participating in the Bellagio Education Meetings' (New York: Ford Foundation, 1975 – unpublished).
4. **Coombs, Philip H.** with **Ahmed, Manzoor,** *Attacking Rural Poverty: How Non-Formal Education can Help*. Prepared for the World Bank by the International Council for Educational Development (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Press 1974); and **Coombs, Philip H.** *et al.*, *New Paths to Learning For Rural Children and Youth* (New York: International Council for Educational Development 1973). See also, World Bank, *Rural Development Sector Policy Paper* (Washington: World Bank, 1975).
5. **Sheffield, James R.** and **Diejomaoh, Victor P.**, *Non-Formal Education in African Development* (New York: African-American Institute, 1972); and **Brembeck, Cole S.** (ed.) *New Strategies for Educational Development* (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1973) and *Program of Studies in Non-Formal Education* (Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan).
6. **Kidd, Roby,** *Whilst Time is Burning* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 1974).
7. See **Sheffield, James R.** (ed.) *Education, Employment and Rural Development* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967); and **Coombs, Philip H.**, *The World Educational Crisis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968).
8. **Nyerere, J. K.**, *Education for Self-Reliance* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1967).

9. See, for example, **Kinyanjui, Kabiru,** 'Educational Opportunities for Rural and Urban Communities in Kenya', in Sheffield, James R. (ed.) *Road to The Village* (New York: African-American Institute, 1974) and International Labour Organization, *Employment Incomes and Equality* (Geneva: ILO, 1972). Hereafter referred to as the ILO Report.
10. ILO Report *op. cit.*
11. Quoted in The African-American Institute, *The Absolute Poor: Report of a Donor Agencies Meeting on Rural Development in Africa* (New York: African-American Institute, 1974), pp. 11-12.
12. World Bank, *Rural Development Sector Policy Paper*, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
13. World Bank, *Education Sector Working Paper*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.
16. **Ward, F. Champion,** 'Redirections in Educational Development', in *Teachers College Record* (New York: Columbia University, Summer 1975).
17. Unesco, 'Meeting of Experts on the Basic Cycle of Study' (Paris: Unesco, June 1974, unpublished), para. 16.
18. Unesco/Unicef, *Basic Education in Eastern Africa*, Report of a Seminar, Nairobi, Kenya, 19-23 August, 22-26 October 1974.
19. **Alles, Jinapala** and **Sharpe, Richard,** *op. cit.*, p. 1.
20. *Ibid*, p. 4.
21. Quoted in World Bank, *Education Sector Working Paper*, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
22. **Alles, Jinapala,** 'A First Step in the Identification of Learning Priorities: (sub title) A Categorisation of Life-Skills Objectives: A First Step to Identifying Minimum Learning Needs' (Paris: Unesco/Unicef, *Co-operative Assistance Programme*, March 1975, unpublished), p. 4.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-4.
24. Seameo – Regional Centre for Educational Innovation and Technology, *Life-Skills Objectives for Primary Education: A Preliminary Tryout* (Saigon: Innotech, 1973).
25. **Williams, Peter,** 'Education in Developing Countries: The View from Mount Olympus', see above, pp. 20-39.
26. *Ibid.*
27. World Bank, *Education Sector Working Paper*, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
29. **Ward, F. Champion,** *Redirections in Educational Development*, *op. cit.*
30. See **Coombs, Philip,** *et al.*, *Attacking Rural Poverty: How Nonformal Education Can Help*, *op. cit.* and *New Paths to Learning for Rural Children and Youth*, *op. cit.*; and World Bank, *Rural Development Sector Policy Paper*, *op. cit.*
31. World Bank, *Education Sector Working Paper*, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
32. World Bank, *Education Sector Working Paper*, op. cit., p. 36-39.
33. *International Herald Tribune*, May 6, 1975, p. 1.
34. **Leys, Colin,** *Underdevelopment in Kenya: The Political Economy of Neo-Colonialism* (London: Heinemann, 1975), pp. 258-271.
35. World Bank, *Rural Development Sector Policy Paper*, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
36. **Alles, J.** and **Sharpe, R.**, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
37. See below, Report of Proceedings, pp. 72-90.

A Memorandum from Mortadella

H. W. R. Hawes and J. Cameron

1. Background

(a) An *ad hoc* committee on educational development was convened last week in the south-east province of the Republic of Mortadella.* Its members were as follows: Mr John Alpha, Chairman of the Provincial Council (Convenor); Mr Christmas Beta, Supervisor of Schools; Mrs Maria Gamma, Representative of the Parents' Action Group; Hadji Suleiman Delta, Representative of the Association of Heads of Primary Schools (Secretary).

(b) The committee was invited by the Minister of Education to comment on the World Bank Sector Review and consider how its policy would affect the development of education in the province.

(c) The committee's complete report is too lengthy to be reproduced here and is therefore summarized. It begins with a long preamble stating the goals of education in the province, followed by a statement about some of its more pressing social and educational problems. A shorter section then records the committee's reaction to the Sector Review as a whole. (It is to be remembered that the members were ignorant both of the nature of the World Bank's work and of any of its previous policy statements.) A final section gives in more detail the committee's views on basic education as a policy alternative and minimum learning needs (pp. 28-32 of the *Education Sector Working Paper*).

2. The province's goals in education and development

Briefly summarized, these are: (i) more school education at all levels; (ii) better school education at all levels; (iii) more local development;

*A small independent state in Africa. Population 3 million. Area 12,000 sq. miles. *Per capita* GNP US $200. Net primary enrolment ratio 55 per cent.

(iv) less alienation of youth. Adult education is mentioned but not given high priority, possibly because it appears to be interpreted as adult literacy. The parents' action group has added a special note stressing the urgency of increasing the number of opportunities for secondary and higher education available to young people from the province.

3. Matters of major concern

The following are mentioned:

(a) The slow speed of rural development. Despite official policy statements, the growth of small-scale enterprises still appears to be faster round Mortadella City, the capital, than away from it. The existence of larger markets and better communications are cited as the main reason for this. Most development projects in rural areas are sponsored only by government and at least one ceased to function once government help was withdrawn.

(b) The continued drift of young people towards the town. Despite great concern and intensive propaganda, the power of rural areas to hold youth is weakening. Youth complain that rural areas are boring and the attitudes of the older people in them are repressive. The more schooling they have, the louder they complain.

(c) The decline in 'moral standards' among the community at large and the young people in particular. The influence of the family and of organized religion is said to be weakening . . . traditional customs are less observed, and traditional crafts are declining despite attempts by the Cottage Industries Board to revive them.

(d) The disastrous effects of inflation. In particular, it has been noted that the costs of school buildings and equipment have more than doubled during the last twelve months. Although financial allocations have apparently increased, in real terms they have decreased with a resultant decline in the standards of both buildings and equipment. Schools are not so well built. Children have fewer books.

(e) The long-term lack of success of literacy programmes for adults. Attendances begin well but fall off. At the beginning there is a tendency to inflate numbers for statistical purposes and, sadly, there is a rapid falling-off later in actual literacy. There is little to read in rural areas. Transistor radios, however, are very common and people are content to hear on them about the events they cannot read about.

(f) Falling standards in schools. Children, it is claimed, do not learn reading, writing and number as well as they used to nor do they know as much. The lower status and morale of teachers is blamed. Enrolments have doubled in the last decade but so has wastage. A detailed report on this has already been submitted by the Association of Heads of Schools. It notes that two complete changes in the syllabus have taken place in the last ten years; that the retraining of

teachers lags far behind what is required to implement these changes; that there are exhortations to 'employ modern approaches', to teach 'skills and attitudes rather than facts', to 'make education relevant to the environment', but that remarkably little practical advice is ever given on how to do so; that the policy-makers in the Mortadella Ministry and those who advise them are misinformed about the actual situation existing in the schools of the province, particularly in regard to finance, the provision of equipment, and the training and competence of the teachers.

4. General Comments on the Sector Review

The committee notes with approval the World Bank's concern for education in developing countries, and endorses the principle of equity. It considers that the south-east province might benefit more than it has done in the past if it received outside aid. Previously, the benefits from aid were enjoyed mainly by those living in and near the capital.

Members were far less complimentary about the tone of the report. In the words of Christmas Beta (an older man): 'It sounds very much like our District Commissioners talking . . . they always knew what was good for us, and we were never allowed to join their clubs.'

There was scepticism, too, about the global view the World Bank takes of many of the problems and the blanket solutions it proposes. The committee feels that despite its disclaimers, the World Bank cherishes the belief that the future success of its policies throughout the developing world is self-evident. Yet there are many instances where these policies do not make sense in the south-east province.* The committee is in some doubt about the effect of the aid provided for basic education. The figure of $1,058·7m over a ten-year period seems a lot of money but as the chairman, an economics graduate, points out, when spread over the developing world it is in fact very tiny. The direct financial impact on primary basic cycles of education would therefore be minimal. Even when aid from larger agencies such as Unesco and Unicef is included the amount available is still inadequate. Is there a real danger that such aid would mainly be used to start policies and projects which would later run into trouble through lack of support?

5. Specific Observations

The committee examines in some detail the proposals contained in pages 27-35 of the *Education Sector Working Paper*. The following points are made:

*For example, there are sixteen 'mother tongues' in the province. To educate children or adults in these would be a recipe for political fragmentation and economic inefficiency (p. 31, vi).

(a) While fully appreciating the dilemmas facing policy-makers, e.g. the lack of money and the demands of equity, the committee records that 'the people of the south-east province will *never* willingly agree to a reduction in length of the present first cycle of education'. However, if it could be clearly demonstrated that more children could be sent to school for the same amount of money, the use of double shifts or, in certain cases, alternative days schooling might be acceptable.

(b) Alternative shortened courses for older children are considered worthy of support provided: (i) they are in addition to, rather than instead of, normal primary school courses; (ii) a proportion of those who complete them are able to proceed further. Alternative basic education courses aimed merely at satisfying 'minimum learning needs' for 'participation in economic, social and political activities' do not find favour.*

(c) Little enthusiasm is evinced by the committee for the proposals to increase provision for adult functional literacy, especially if it involves a reduction in the provision of primary schooling. The people of the south-east province are prepared to make sacrifices to send their children to school – generally on the grounds that they wish them to have opportunities which they, the parents, have missed. They think it essential that the new generation should learn to read and write. The parents opposed to schooling are now in a minority and already, in some areas, to keep children away from school is beginning to earn community disapproval. No such feeling exists about adults being able to read and write. It is difficult to convince many of them that learning to do so is worth the investment of their time and energy. A great number of them do not regard literacy as being 'functional'.

(d) As for the content of the basic cycle of education, there is considerable support for re-examining what schools teach, by identifying essential learning needs. Both as parents and as educationists, the members of the committee agree that the essential task of the primary school is to enable children to go on learning either in school or out of it. However, they all share doubts as to whether some of the new syllabus changes *as they have been interpreted by the teachers in the schools* have contributed to this end. A wiser course might be to identify certain areas (notably the three R's and health education) and see that they are taught well. Additions could be made later only by teachers competent to do so.

**Editor's note:* It should be noted that a healthy apprenticeship system exists in agriculture, markets, and garages all over Mortadella. These opportunities are not discussed by the committee because they do not consider them be be 'educational', nor are extension schemes in agriculture and health. In this respect the attitudes of the committee seem to coincide with those of the World Bank.

(e) The committee is unhappy about programmes 'designed to take into account the terminal character of lower levels of education for the large majority of participants'. Surely, the skills needed at these levels enable – or should enable – children to continue learning in school as well as outside it. Surely, no four-year *basic* programme should be looked upon as 'terminal education'.* The very word 'basic' surely implies a *basis* for continuing one's educational progress. New approaches to the employment and deployment of teachers; new styles of learning and teaching and the use of the media can all be profitably considered in the south-east province *provided they really lead to increased efficiency*. Mr Beta and Hadji Delta express some scepticism on this. Too often in their experience hasty innovations have led to increased work for the teachers at extra cost with little observable improvement.

(f) The same two committee members also reiterate that unless more specific help is provided for teachers in the schools towards realizing the goals which the report so confidently, but so generally, advocates, only bewilderment will follow. To achieve 'knowledge and skills for productive activity' or to generate 'a systematic effort to link education and work' requires a great deal of research and careful implementation, as does the wholesale restructuring of the primary school curriculum around minimum learning needs.

(g) The committee believes that the use of Koranic teachers, village priests and other religious leaders to promote the spiritual well-being of their pupils and to form links with the community is essential to sound community education, but does not see how they can possibly 'provide basic education'. They are completely unsuited both by tradition, training and status for such a role. Hadji Delta, who as a Muslim has visited scores of Koranic schools, not only in Mortadella but elsewhere in Africa, wonders whether any members of the World Bank team have ever been inside one.

(h) The committee notes with amazement the reference to the process of identifying an 'equitably selected group' at the end of four years of basic education. They speculate on *how* this is to be done and what it would provoke in the community, if it were done. They agree that the working paper blandly and wrongly assumes that it can be done both fairly and easily.

6. Postscript

The committee's report is now being studied by senior Ministry of Education officials along with the reports on the working paper from the other provinces. Indications are that there is a large measure of agreement among them.

*p. 31; *Learning to Be* is mentioned ten times later.

World Trends in Education

Lionel Elvin

Quantitative Expansion: The Facts

Let us look first† at the record of quantitative expansion in the years since the last world war. The Faure Report* notes that in the eight years between 1960 and 1968 the total number of children attending school rose from about 325 to about 460 million, an increase of more than 40 per cent. This was above the rate of increase of the school-age population and of the world population over that period. But the number of children between the ages of five and fourteen who were unable to attend school increased, over the same period, by 17 millions. Well, the layman might ask, are we winning or losing? The answer is that there was an increase in the percentage of children going to school, but the percentage was out of an increasing total, so that the actual numbers of those not at school also grew larger.

The same story has to be told about adult illiteracy. The percentage of the world's population that is literate has been growing. The percentage of illiterates dropped from 44 to 34. But because the world population over the age of fifteen increased from nearly 1600 to nearly 2300 millions the actual number of illiterates increased from 700 to 783 millions (exact figures of course depend on how one defines literacy, but the trend is, unfortunately, clear). The moral of this is that we are losing the educational race at a somewhat decreasing rate, but we are losing it more and more every year because of the growth of population. I could wish that the report had rammed this home, whatever the Vatican thought. It *is* crucial. Those who oppose family planning on principle – that is to say, without admitting that

†An edited version of a paper on the Faure Report. A summary of it has also been published in *Education News*, Canberra, Australia, 1975.

*Faure, E., *et al.*, *Learning to Be: The Report of the International Commission on the Development of Education.* Paris: Unesco 1972.

we should ever check population growth deliberately with the only kind of method that will work – will have a very heavy burden on their consciences when at last they come to admit the truth – as they will.

Despite this drag on all our hopes the figures of this educational expansion bear witness to a tremendous effort, especially by the poorer countries. This can also be seen by the fact that the percentage of the world's total gross national products spent on education rose in these eight years from 3·02 to 4·24, a rate of increase greater than the rate of increase of the GNPs themselves.

Now let us stand back from the figures for a moment and ask to what this marked drive for quantitative expansion may be ascribed. I see three main explanations.

Quantitative Expansion: The Underlying Causes

(i) Education as a Human Right

In the years since the last war, and for the first time in human history, it has been officially affirmed and everywhere agreed that education is a human right. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted a quarter of a century ago by the member states of the United Nations, said so. And it is said that this right, like the others enumerated, was to be recognized without discrimination in terms of race, religion or sex. Now this was a Declaration, not a Covenant with binding force, and it was a confused document in many ways. But it declared what people felt.

The Prime Minister of Jamaica, Mr Michael Manley, made an interesting point about the timing of this demand when he opened the sixth Commonwealth Education Conference at Kingston in June 1975. He noted that the older industrial nations had needed only partial literacy to move into the industrial era and could have the benefit of new wealth before political democracy came with its pressure for universal education. The new countries of the Third World did not have such an option. They could not wait until economic development had enabled them to afford a full system of public education. Everyone had the vote now, and they wanted education for their children, now. This confronted the countries of the Third World with a great dilemma.

Dr Philip Coombs, the author of *The World Educational Crisis*, has pointed out, further, that the demand for more education is self-generating. If you have general primary education, a high proportion of those completing it will want secondary education too, and the more who complete that the more young people will be knocking on the doors of the university.

(ii) Education as Investment

The second explanation of the drive to the quantitative expansion of education of our times is the realization that without education a country cannot move forward to a modern economy and a reasonable standard of life for its people. Now the story of the relationship between the educationists and the economists in recent years is interesting and even at times amusing. At first the educationists were delighted to find that the economists seemed to be their allies. They had supposed them to be the allies of their natural enemies, the Ministers of Finance. But before long the education people were getting apprehensive about this new alliance. Some economists began to question whether education could be regarded as an investment, except metaphorically. Rates of return on the supposed investment, whether individual or social, proved difficult to measure. The share of education in the 'residual factor' (the input other than natural resources and physical investment) could not be isolated. Yet what has remained from these debates has been an uncontested and newly-emphasized general relationship between the level of education and the level of economic development.

One by-product of this alliance with the economists, coupled with the necessity of planning when resources were scarce, was the vogue for manpower planning in relation to education. In many countries there was serious dislocation between the kind of education and training given and the opportunities and the needs of the country in kinds of employment. Could we forecast the needs of the economy for trained manpower in a variety of employments and relate this back to the kinds of education and training that were given? I sympathised very much with this hope at first, for educated unemployment meant not only personal frustration but national waste. But I never understood how it could apply widely to education, as distinct from training, for the majority of children were in primary school, where surely premature specialization would be out of the question. At most there could be very general orientation, for instance towards rural rather than industrial life. But the manpower planners were much more optimistic than that. I once heard an official of the International Labour Office say to a training seminar for young planners that if you were conservative you would try to forecast demands for manpower only for three hundred different occupations and for only ten years ahead. Such is the simple faith of the planner! And great as is my admiration for Lord Ashby, I must say that the famous report on the planning of education in Nigeria in relation to manpower needs, in which he let Professor Harbison run away with him, is the tombstone of this hope rather than its living memorial.

In the countries of the Third World there are now considerably more people with the skills involved in educational and in general plan-

ning. But the planner is seen more and more, not as a separate kind of person who draws up a blueprint and catches the next plane home, but as the continuing administrator himself or as a technician, say in statistics, who works to him. Planning itself is now seen more as a continuing process in an understood social and political context, not as an exercise done once and for all and left on some one else's desk.

As to the relations between general and educational planning, one new emphasis deserves remark. Until recently it was always education that had to fit in to what the economists in their wisdom decreed. Now Dr Coombs himself is saying that if there is a disharmony between the economy and the educational system it could be the economic policy that is at fault. This is timely and fits in well with the insistence of people like Dr Schumacher that it is folly to encourage countries where everything is in short supply except labour, to go in for capital-intensive works employing few people. The point was taken by Mr Manley of Jamaica in the speech to which I have referred. He said that if a country like Jamaica wanted a new main road you would think of getting a lot of labour-saving tractors. But they would have to be imported and you were short of foreign exchange. Their use would leave many young men out-of-school also out of work. Then should you go back to picks and shovels? And why not tooth-picks, as I once heard someone derisively suggest? Of course that would be absurd. But, Mr Manley said, you had got to work out a middle strategy, realising that your road-building was not merely an economic activity but a social one as well. When we have spoken of 'development' in these last years we have often thought only of economic development. Social development is at least as important.

Let me sum up what I have been saying under this heading. A country must know in what general economic, social and political direction it wants to go before the teachers and educational administrators can be expected to fit in rationally to the national life. The short-view advice of the more naïve economist must be tested and if necessary resisted. It is, for instance, Professor Mark Blaug, himself an economist, who has warned such people that rapid technological change may well call for longer general education rather than early specialization in processes that will be superseded in a few years. Planning, either in general or within education itself, should be done with more broad understanding of the different needs of different societies, and with less doctrinaire precision. Then, I think, this faltering marriage between the educationists and the economists could be patched up. As indeed it must be.

(iii) Education as an Integrating Force

The third explanation of the drive for education in the newly-independent countries has been the desire to give their peoples a

sense of corporate unity. When Fichte urged that education could do this for Germany after the defeat at Jena he appealed to what he believed to exist already, a German nation, although politically Germany was divided up into all sorts of states and duchies. Many of the new nations, especially in Africa, have had to create their sense of national unity for they were a mere juxtaposition of tribes around which colonial powers had drawn a line on the map. In some newly-independent countries, like India, there was indeed a prior sense of national unity, but till then unreflected in their school system. The Communist countries, from the Soviet Union to Cuba and China, have well understood the importance of education in building their regimes into the consciousness of their future citizens. Now, with their requirements for a period of community service associated with secondary and higher education, countries like India and Ghana are trying to achieve the same ends with non-totalitarian methods.

The Global Challenge

These, then, are the explanations I would give for the astonishing growth of education in quantity in these post-war years. But how far has that expansion really gone in relation to needs and demands? We must now look at the comparison between what has been done and the targets the world has set itself, and ask why there is still such a gap. Only so can we get better guidelines for the future.

Some fifteen years ago Unesco called conferences in the main under-educated regions of the world to set targets for the provision of more schooling and the elimination of illiteracy. The target date was 1980, and we are nearly there. The delegates from the countries of Asia met at Karachi toward the end of 1959, and in 1965 they met in Bangkok to review results so far. They found that in seven countries with 14 per cent of the total population first level enrolment had reached 89 per cent; in eight countries representing 84 per cent of the population (the main block) it had reached 54 per cent; and in three countries representing 3 per cent of the population it was still as low as 18 per cent. The proportion of each cohort enrolled was at its maximum at the ages of seven and eight (just over 70 per cent), a little more than half at the age of ten, and just over a quarter by the age of fourteen. Holding power was obviously weak, and wastage high. The report from the regional office to which I referred says (with, it would seem, the decade 1960-70 in mind) that in the age-group 5-14 139 million children were in school and almost as many, 135 million, not in school.

Mr Najman* makes a similar comparison for the countries of Africa north of the Zambezi and south of the Sahara. The Addis

*Najman, Dragoljub, *Education in Africa: What Next?* Paris: Deux Mille, 1972.

Ababa Conference set the targets in 1961. By 1980 there was to be universal free primary education, secondary education for 30 per cent of those completing primary school, and higher education for 20 per cent of those completing secondary school. The Ministers of Education met in Nairobi in 1968 to review progress. They found that 71 per cent of the young people reaching the age of fifteen in 1969 would be illiterates. Even if the targets for cutting down wastage by then had been reached, the figure would still be 54 per cent. Mr Najman concludes that the primary schools are losing the battle against illiteracy in this part of the world.

The Faure Report refers only briefly and without much analysis to these regional reviews, but it does give two global estimates. It says that on current trends the number of children between five and fourteen not attending school in 1980 will be approximately 230 million (for rough comparison we may note that the total number in all educational institutions is given by the report as 650 millions at present). There will be at least 820 million illiterates in the world in 1980 and a world proportion of adult illiterates of 29 per cent. This will be more than thirty years after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Mr Najman cites Ethiopia as an especially sad case, a country (though he could not say so) where international aid has run into the sand because of the nature of the regime; now, one would like to hope, significantly changed. Ethiopia's primary enrolments over the decade 1960-71 did increase by 130 per cent and its secondary enrolments by 800 per cent; but starting from a very low base. Against its short-term target of 71 per cent primary enrolment by 1971 it could show an actual enrolment by 1968 of only 5·5 per cent. In secondary enrolment the target had been set at 15 per cent by 1971. The reality by 1968 was 3·7 per cent.

These meagre results have cost a great deal in terms of national budgets and GNPs. Mr Najman takes the case of Upper Volta and quotes one of its educationists, Mr Joseph Ki-Zorbo. He says: 'More than 1·5 million dollars of a 10 million dollars budget is spent on education, 17 to 18 per cent of its budget and 5 per cent of the GNP. And to what end? To educate 9 to 10 per cent of the school-age population. In other words, to educate all the children of Upper Volta, it would be necessary to increase the national budget one and a half times' (and to spend the whole of this inflated budget on education). How can such a policy possibly be defended?

A Differentiated Approach to Reform

So let us introduce some discriminations into M. Faure's facile universalism. Of countries like Upper Volta one is compelled to say:

they just can't do it at all, on the present basis. But not all countries are in this position. We must ask therefore of which countries it is painfully true that their educational systems must indeed be re-thought 'in their entirety'. To which countries on the other hand does this financial imperative not apply, thus leaving them free to consider seriously whether turning everything inside out might not mean the throwing away of advantages that they have gradually gained?

No spokesman for a social service will ever get all the funds he would like. But I decline to believe that countries like the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, the United Kingdom and others cannot, if they wish, find very large sums for education. What matters is their sense of priorities, even apart from the huge sums spent on armaments. If Britain and France choose to spend huge sums on Concorde (which has already cost Britain sixty times as much as the annual cost of the Open University, itself one of our most expensive educational ventures) then that must be assumed to be what Britain prefers, crazy though it may seem, and of course is. There cannot but be less for other purposes. But by and large, and of course within general limits, proposals for change in the educational system in the wealthier countries can be considered on their educational merits. Such countries do not need, either for financial or educational reasons, to re-think their educational systems in their entirety. They need to adapt progressively, and within reason they can afford what that will cost.

We have looked at the Third World. We have looked at the First World. What has happened to the Second? Presumably this phrase originally referred to the Communist bloc. But there is no Communist bloc now, and we are supposed to be in the days of détente. The term, the Second World, might usefully be revived to cover the considerable number of countries that are not really in either the First or the Third: countries like Spain, Portugal and Greece in Europe, Brazil in Latin America, Singapore in Asia, and quite a few others. The Arab states that are now oil-rich, and Egypt which is not, should probably come into this category too. Now, are these countries forced by the kind of argument that is imperative for Upper Volta to re-plan their educational systems completely? They may well need to re-fashion some things, on both educational and financial grounds. They may have to forgo some things the really affluent countries have. But they are very near to Professor Rostow's economic 'take-off point', and I don't think they need be considered near to the Upper Volta class at all.

This brings us back to the countries where the great difficulties are. They include such countries as India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, and between them they contain a high proportion of the inhabitants

of the world. China, too, might be thought of as in this group; but it is already taking extremely non-traditional measures to deal with its situation.

Voluntary and Involuntary Educational Change

Here, however, a distinction must be introduced. If for the sort of reason I have given a clean break has to be made anyway, an unusual opportunity occurs to overcome educational resistances to necessary change. If a decisive move away from unsuitable curricula is desirable, if schools ought to be brought into more living relationship with the community, if the values of teachers hitherto concerned only with educating an élite are to be modified, then here is the great chance to do it almost at one sweep. This is clearly what is happening in China, and under another code, so to speak, in Tanzania. But to change because you have to do so is still one thing; to change because you would in any case wish to do so is another.

At the Commonwealth Educational Conference in Jamaica there was considerable discussion of the virtues of manual work as part of the experience of schoolchildren. The delegate from Botswana reported, clearly feeling he was fitting into the mood of the meeting, that in that country now children had one day a week at school and four days of work. Now, was that because no more school attendance could be afforded, or because the new system was good in itself? Surely, it must have been the former. In countries where there has been contempt for manual work, as in pre-Communist China or, I am afraid, in India still, shock tactics may be justified; but not, if one could possibly help it, to the Botswana extreme. Because of this zeal of some would-be reformers to throw away too much, and not to distinguish between necessity and desirability, some educationists are more wary of change in general than they probably ought to be.

Nor should we forget the changes that have been made without re-thinking systems of education in their entirety. Only a couple of decades ago in some countries of the Arab world there was strong hostility to the education of girls (in Saudi Arabia, for instance, though very much less in Egypt). The transformation in Saudi Arabia now is said to be remarkable. In the Asian region the proportion of girls in primary schools in 1960 was 37 per cent, rather than the ideal 50. It is now 40 per cent and the movement is steadily forward.

Again, in the revision of curricula there has been change in nearly every country of the world. As the delegate of an African country said at the 1972 session of the General Conference of Unesco, if some newly-independent countries at first retained the colonial curricula and awards that was because, though these were in many ways

unsuitable, they offered certain guarantees of standards and wide acceptability. And new curricula and textbooks could not be produced over-night. But now things are changing, steadily and gradually. Some countries – Malaysia, for instance – have set up government publishing houses for the production of their own textbooks and school materials. This progress should not be brushed aside. It does remain true, however, that in some countries something much more radical is needed.

Supply and Pay of Teachers: Alternatives

In the provision of well-educated and well-trained teachers the countries of the Third World face a most difficult problem. The Faure Report says that on the whole enough teachers have been found to match expansion. But the Bangkok Report on Asia, perhaps probing a little more deeply, says that in that region the supply of teachers has not kept up with the growth in enrolments. The staff-pupil ratio has fallen from 1:38 to 1:40. (The Karachi Plan said it should be 1:35.) In the Third World generally teachers have inadequate education and either poor training or none. Mr Najman says that 50 per cent of the teachers in Middle Africa are under-qualified or not qualified at all.

Ought one to make teaching more attractive by raising salaries? One of the working groups at the Jamaica Conference recommended this. Yet the truth is that relatively, in relation to the average remuneration, teachers are better, not worse off, in the poorer countries; and relativities cannot be ignored. And the proportion of the educational budget that goes on salaries is so high that a small increase per head turns into a colossal total salary bill. Mr Najman says that in some African countries the proportion of the budget for schools that goes on teachers' salaries is as high as 95 per cent, much higher than in the more affluent countries.

What can be done? Some people have clutched at the hope that teaching by television would bring a large saving on teachers' salaries. I agree with Professor Vaizey that although television programmes may enhance the quality of teaching yet it is virtually certain that there will not be a net saving on teachers' salaries. The American experiment in teaching by television in American Samoa cost huge sums of money. Professor Wilbur Schramm, who was intimately involved, told me frankly that the cost was such that no lessons could be drawn from it for a country without such millions of Congress dollars behind it. But lessons can be drawn. The experiment, started ten years ago, has been a disaster. The Governor of American Samoa says it has failed. Those who started it were so confident that the teacher could be superseded that they closed the teachers' colleges. They thought they could do it instead by sitting children, longing to

be active, in front of the inflexible box all day. In the last two years the Department of Education, whose officials recognize what a failure it has been, are back-pedalling hard. But they haven't got the teachers who could have been trained all those years. The Americans have discovered what anyone not as naïve as the authors of our report could have told them, that the use of really suitable television programmes can be an aid to the teacher (and the best of such programmes are very good, though not adapted to every culture) but cannot be a substitute for the teacher and will not save the budget money. The other large-scale experiment has been in the Ivory Coast, but that is recent. When I asked the Minister who launched it, M. Amin-Tanoh, if he would write an evaluative account of it for a series of monographs I was editing he agreed in principle but said wisely that it was too early to do so yet. But the Faure Report does refer to it and counts as evidence an estimate (not a result) that the Ivory Coast could save money on it if drop-outs were reduced. But what is the justification for supposing that the reduction of drop-outs will result from installing television? And why not include this saving, if it prove to be one, on the other side of the account as well – or leave it out of both? The fact is that the one large-scale experiment we have as evidence tells decisively against the injudicious over-reliance on instruction by television and similar 'technology' (as they would call it) that the Faure Report shows.

Another suggestion about the remuneration of teachers, made by Mr Najman, is not of course entirely novel, but has not been much taken up. I first heard it twenty years ago from Mr Sharif, then Adviser on Education to the Government of Pakistan and already convinced that Third World countries could not finance education just in the Western style. Najman suggests that teachers should be paid only in part by central government cash. The remainder of their support should come from the local community in kind. The community should provide them with a house (as it does, I believe, in Papua and New Guinea) and with some land and food. My own feeling is that something like this will be necessary. It sounds like the tithe and parsonage system of maintaining the clergy. But until a more developed economy permits other methods, is that so wrong?

In the really poor countries there is no doubt that the basic school will have to cost less in cash than the primary school of today. Mr Najman suggests that it could do so with much more use of skilled people in the village to help with the introduction of local life and work and with a much more local and community-related, and certainly academically simpler curriculum. He also says that to make the real link between the school and the village community the boys and girls should be of an age when they leave to become recognized young adults in the local community, if they are not going on to

secondary education. This would mean that you decide on your school entry age by counting backward: if there are to be four years of first-level schooling and fourteen is regarded as the age when really entering young adult life is feasible, then the age of entry will be ten; if five years of schooling is possible, then nine; and so on.

None of the ideas like these offers a universal prescription. But they are ideas of the right kind for consideration where countries simply cannot reach their goals on present assumptions. What I am sure of is that radical changes of this kind are in the offing. I am also sure that the countries of the Third World intend to be more self-reliant. They will continue to ask for aid, and they should have more. They will continue to ask for expert advisers. But they will want increasingly to keep this in accord with their own plans for their own futures. And this is right.

What mankind as a whole needs if we are to wipe out the shame of illiteracy is more collective will. We must face the fact that mankind will not be literate by the year 2000. The population explosion alone makes that impossible. But we can, if we will it, go forward much more quickly than we have (indeed, in a sense we have not been going forward at all). It seems to me that to do this we need to be both conservative and radical; conservative in holding fast to that which is good, radical if the situation calls for that, but above all to seek a balance between these two that is different in practically every situation we can think of. There are no panaceas and really it is cruel to let people suppose that there are.

We must generate the will, as well as the balanced good sense. Or are we to admit that only a totalitarian regime can accomplish this task, and at a price that we refuse to pay? As I said when summing up the work of the Commonwealth Conference in Jamaica, just over the horizon in Cuba they claim to have ended illiteracy in ten years. Are we going to be beaten and say we cannot do it in our way, holding on to the freedom of the mind and spirit that we believe to be the essence of both good education and good citizenship? I hope not.

Report of Proceedings

edited by Peter Williams

The meeting was opened by *Reg Honeybone*. In welcoming participants he stressed his hope that the discussions on the *Education Sector Working Paper* (ESWP) would be both frank and constructive. Some of the papers put before the meeting had been critical of the ESWP for being over-authoritarian, but one should also recognize that it made frequent references to the need for dialogue and for response to the developing countries' own priorities. Again, there was not very much in the paper about the learning processes that actually went on in classrooms and homes but, on the other hand, it stressed very strongly the need for a much wider distribution of educational opportunities for the poor in the poorer countries. The paper was seeking to open a dialogue with the developing world and was clearly a very significant document that would have an important influence on future international educational thinking and development.

The discussions that followed during the day under Reg Honeybone's chairmanship were organized in four sessions. The first two sessions were devoted to an over-all review of issues and policies in the ESWP; the third focused more narrowly on the basic education proposals; and the final session of the meeting concerned itself with implementation of change. In this account of the meeting, the same order is followed in presenting the views of participants on the substance of the ESWP. In addition it seems useful to record in a first section of this report the observations made by participants on the working paper's general form and approach.

General Comments on the Education Sector Working Paper

Participants welcomed the decision of the Bank to issue the ESWP both as a statement of policy and as a contribution to thinking around

the world about the issues of education and development. This welcome was all the warmer in so far as, in the opinion of many of those present, the Bank had sometimes been less forthcoming than it might have been – given its leading influence in the area of international educational development – in sharing its thinking, experience and information. It was hoped that the present ESWP would be followed by others and by a wide variety of other published material. Second, it was noted in this connection that the document under discussion was entitled 'Working Paper', implying perhaps that it should be regarded basically as a discussion paper and that further elaboration of the ideas it contained was intended. During the debates the hope was several times expressed that the observations made would be regarded as a constructive contribution to this end, and more generally to the continuing process of redefining issues and policies in the education sector.

Third, the point was repeatedly made that many educational problems and solutions were country-specific, and policies could only have effect at national and sub-national level. It was noted that the ESWP did itself in several places stress that conditions and appropriate educational policies varied from country to country. The paper nevertheless displayed a tendency at times to use highly aggregated statistics as a basis for conclusions and recommendations. Dramatic as some of these global figures were, there was a danger that they might serve the cause of propaganda better than that of understanding and analysis. The grouping of countries by continent or by five income bands produced a level of aggregation that concealed significant differences between countries within the same group.

Fourth, there was support for the view expressed by Arnold Anderson both in his paper and at the meeting that the ESWP did not represent a completely coherent line of thinking. For example, by discussing 'efficiency', 'equity', a 'poverty-oriented development strategy' in separate sections and under different headings, the paper avoided any searching analysis of whether and how these aims could be simultaneously pursued and of the inherent conflicts involved. The precise process whereby the policies advocated would lead to the intended outcomes was sometimes obscure; and such key issues as, for example, whether the dynamic of the town might not be the condition for rural prosperity, rather than a threat to it, were little explored.

Fifth, the working paper showed a tendency to minimize the past achievements of developing countries and a certain lack of sympathy with them in the very difficult dilemmas of educational policy they frequently faced. The complexity of many of the issues and the real difficulties in adopting seemingly 'sensible' and 'efficient' solutions, did not always seem to be fully recognized. In places an altogether

more tentative attitude would have been more appropriate than the air of certainty and confident rectitude that the paper conveyed.

Sixth, and connected with the previous point, there was a feeling that the paper did not sufficiently acknowledge the extent to which the Bank itself had been responsible for the wide currency that policies of concentrating on high level manpower for the modern sector of the economy had enjoyed. Many of the new policy emphases in the Bank's paper were welcome to those attending the meeting, but the Bank's new stance would have been more credible if there had been a franker discussion of the Bank's past experiences – both the successes and failures – with lending for education, and the ways in which these had modified current thinking. Some sense that the new policies were the result of a continuous and continuing process of learning would have been reassuring, particularly when the new policy line followed so hard on the heels of the one it replaced.

Finally, there was a widely supported plea that in any future document of this kind the terms used should be more closely defined. This applied particularly to the term 'basic education', whose application to a whole range of very different concrete situations might only serve to spread confusion.

Issues and Policies

Introductory Statements

Peter Williams made four points concerning the analysis in the report. First he argued that although the Bank claimed to recognize that 'to the developmental goal of economic growth must be added social dimensions', the actual ESWP discussion of education's role was almost entirely in terms of its function in producing knowledge and skills. Moreover, the interpretation of the 'social dimension' of education was in fact far too narrowly conceived, and did not appear to go any further than the concept of equity, admittedly important enough in itself. The paper appeared very largely to ignore the role of education in the promotion of social attitudes and values and in relation to the culture and religion of a community, and in its functions as a role-allocation device and as a child-minding service.

Second, he thought the paper had too much faith in the possibility of finding 'right answers' – with misunderstanding and inefficiency being regarded as the main obstacles to their adoption – and did not recognize sufficiently that perceptions of what was good and right might differ and that interests might clash. Nor did the paper sufficiently explore the potential conflicts between different definitions of equity, between equity and efficiency, between local relevance and national standardization, between specialization and integration of educational contents and so forth. Perhaps for this reason the ESWP

seemed to represent a bureaucrat's view of education, with few real life teachers, parents or pupils appearing in its pages. When they did appear they were either described as 'target groups' or 'inputs' or else seemed, as Anderson had suggested in his paper, to be obstructing efficient planning. It was sad to find so little evidence of sympathy and support for teachers, or recognition of the need to sustain their devotion and commitment.

Third, as he had indicated in his own paper, he had reservations about the Bank's global assessment of world educational trends. One could support the contention that change and reform were urgently needed in many education systems, without accepting such a gloomy interpretation of what had been achieved – or would be achieved – in quantitative terms. The figures in the Bank's paper for educational development up to 1970 were causes for satisfaction and congratulation. As to the future, the Bank and Unesco might conceivably have access to data not generally available to others, suggesting a turn for the worse in educational trends and justifying their gloom. There were some counter-indications, however. For example, it was worth noting that several of the largest African countries in the Bank's list of the poorest twenty-five – Nigeria, Sudan and Tanzania – now seemed to be pushing forward extremely rapidly. Moreover, he thought the Bank's emphasis on basic and primary education did not sufficiently accord with the reality that in many countries a major focus of concern was what to do about the lower-secondary level. Such a concern should not be condemned out of hand as élitist and anti-developmental, even in countries that had not yet achieved a satisfactory primary education base. Development could not always take place evenly in any case. But more importantly one might argue that wider access to the lower-secondary system might in fact help to underpin the primary level of education – by reducing any harmful backwash effects of the selection examination, by furnishing better educated teachers, by consolidating basic literacy skills already achieved.

Fourth and last, there was the need to scrutinize carefully which were the groups at present without access to first-level education and the reasons for this. Was the problem one of poverty, élitism and deliberate neglect, or might it not just as often be one of remoteness? He had been struck by the fact that the really poor countries with low enrolment ratios seemed to be those with low density of population. If closer analysis were to suggest that the problems were largely those of remoteness (physical, cultural, social) then the policy measures needed might be different from those which would be suggested if low enrolment ratios were the outcome of the political and social philosophies of the ruling groups.

John Cameron said he agreed with many of the criticisms Peter Williams had made. He himself had made some of these points quite

explicitly in a written report to the Ethiopian Ministry of Education in January 1974. Referring to the recommendations of the Ethiopian Education Sector Review, concerning which the World Bank *Education Sector Working Paper* now before the meeting was so complacent, he had written 'The Report of the Education Sector Review is an unexceptionable document, shrewd and courageous in its diagnosis of the educational ills which beset Ethiopia . . . but, in spite of the large measure of Ethiopian participation it is a conformist document, in that it reflects the prevailing educational orthodoxy of most educational aid agencies, especially the international ones. These agencies having urged the developing countries a decade ago to give top priority to the development of secondary and tertiary education mainly in the interests of trained manpower for the modern sector of the economy, and to give low priority to primary education, now urge them to do the opposite. Central to the new orthodoxy is great emphasis on the ruralization of school curricula at all levels and on non-formal education, outside and sometimes at the expense of, the formal system. . . . Success in inculcating new attitudes is crucial. . . . Rural populations do not need to be told about the economic value of education as it affects their own lives. Education is to them the way up from, and out of, the harsh conditions of subsistence farming – at least for some of their children. It is the means of escape from grinding poverty, not of a return to it. Yet "Minimum Formation Education" (MFE) postulates return, not escape. . . . The Assistant Director General Unesco . . . described MFE as "another exquisite expression that we have coined in order to escape from the prison house of primary or elementary education and express reality".† This is not how parents regard it. They will need a lot of convincing that MFE is not itself the prison house.'

In reading the World Bank's *Education Sector Working Paper* he was reminded of the remark by that great American, Cornford,* illustrating the importance of the *manner* in which policies and priorities were made known. 'You think, do you not, that you have only to state a reasonable case and people must listen to reason and act upon it at once. It is just this conviction that makes you so unpleasant.' Many criticisms of the ESWP might well stem from this type of human bloody-mindedness. Everyone had an in-built resentment to being told what was good for him.

As regards policies and priorities the first point to be made was that the essential characteristic of developing countries was their poverty.

†This remark was made at the conclusion of a six-day conference on MFE in Addis Ababa in July 1972.

*Quoted in Kerr, Clark, *The Uses of the University*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964, p. 107. (Cornford, F. M., *Microcosmographica Academica*. London: Bowes and Bowes, 1949.)

This imposed harsh priorities and difficult decisions on them. They could not afford the luxury of a bleeding heart; and even when the political will for bold decision-making was there, the necessary administrative capacity was often lacking.

Second, the ESWP left one with the sneaking suspicion that the World Bank aimed at creating a contented peasantry, not at promoting modernization and industrialization; that it considered industrialization of rural areas regrettable if not wicked; and that it thought a Rousseau-like rural economy infinitely preferable to the complexities of the modern highly urbanized world. In fact, however, Britain's historical experience suggested that the rural economy could not grow without large urban markets and that urbanization was a precondition of a highly-differentiated modern economy.

These points bore directly on the issue of equity. In the ESWP the Bank took developing countries' education systems and policies to task for their 'regressive character'. However, the Bank appeared neither to give the developing countries sufficient credit for what they had accomplished in terms of equality of access, nor to appreciate the enormity of the task of reaching equality of achievement – even though it did recognize this second task to be much more difficult than the first. In reality, poverty meant that equality of access or of educational achievement was a mere pipe-dream in the developing nations, able to offer primary education to perhaps only 50 per cent of the age group.

One should in fact think of inequity as being a hallmark of a developing country; as Mark Blaug had said, 'The striking fact about underdeveloped countries is not so much their low level of income per head, but rather the extreme inequality in the distribution of nearly everything: income, population, education, housing, health and the like. Not only is income per head more unequally distributed than in developed countries, but regional variations in income within national boundaries far exceed anything found in Europe or America'.* If this analysis was correct, it made little sense to criticize developing countries for the existence of inequity.

The problem of inequity was exacerbated by the fiercely competitive nature of education systems in developing countries, in which the selective function inevitably played a most important role. 'More flexible aptitude and attitude tests' would not send this problem away and the ESWP's remark that 'fully practical alternatives have not yet been developed' (p. 35) gave no help at all.

The ESWP was correct in its general diagnosis; its discussion of the major issues was fearless and forthright; and few documents covered so much ground in so few pages. It was all the more unfortunate,

*Blaug, M. *The Role of Education in Enlarging the Exchange Economy in Middle Africa: The English-speaking Countries*. Paris: Unesco, 1967.

therefore, that it left the impression that the real problems facing developing countries were outside its experience and beneath its notice.

General Discussion

The discussion of the ESWP's analysis and policy conclusions can conveniently be summarized under four headings – development of skills, education for rural areas, equity and efficiency, costs of educational growth – broadly corresponding with different sections of the ESWP itself.

(i) *Development of Skills*

John Oxenham felt it crucial to make a necessary distinction between education and schooling. The educational process of preparing people for adult life within their communities and societies was prior to and wider than the institution called 'the school'. One crucial educational task was training for a livelihood. A livelihood within a 'traditional' community could be trained for by 'traditional' education without the aid of the schools, but 'traditional' education could not prepare people for modern-sector jobs. This demanded qualifications obtainable almost solely through a school. Hence, and naturally, schools were seen by their users primarily as a means for *qualifying* for a 'modern' livelihood, rather than in terms of acquiring competence. Because of the duality of the economies of poor countries and the consequent competition for limited modern-sector jobs, school had a crucial effect on people's lifetime earning opportunities. What the ESWP had failed to do was to explore whether there was any chance of separating the educative function of the schools in developing human capacities, from the selective function of the schools in qualifying people for scarce jobs. It was questionable whether the schools could perform the dual function of qualifying people for the jobs they wanted at the same time as giving them a preparation for the jobs they were really likely to get.

These points were taken up by *Michael Young* and *John Anderson*. Schools seemed more attuned to providing people with paid jobs, which was what parents wanted, than with providing them with the skills and attitudes that their countries needed. Could that element in educational qualifications that represented an indicator of genuine competence be separated from qualifications which represented an exercise in competitive labelling? Perhaps education-cum-work structures which interspersed periods of education with work experience, could provide an opportunity to select for further education courses on the basis of demonstrated competence in real situations. *Jean Bowman* suggested that there might be a danger in defining the role of education in economic development too narrowly

in terms of schooling as a preparation for particular wage and salary jobs. The discussion in the ESWP seemed to be largely in these terms. But perhaps more important was the role of education in the development of skills of acquiring and decoding information, and in making decisions in change-situations. Education appeared to affect the speed and efficiency with which people took up new practices in agriculture, and to affect entrepreneurial behaviour. By extending access to the written word it seemed likely that education speeded up innovation. *Christopher Colclough* made the further point that the way people viewed education was a function of the society they were in. It might not be possible to say generally that people wanted education primarily for this reason or that. In many societies – India was one example – education was an important component of social status. The financial rewards of jobs were of course an extremely important factor, and in this connection the ESWP had not put enough stress on income distribution and the need for a more progressive income structure. The discussion of these points on pages 22-23 of the ESWP seemed to him to be altogether too tentative and non-committal.

Several speakers expressed the view that in its discussion of the development of skills, the ESWP had too little to say about informal processes of skill acquisition or vocational training on the job. *Albert Ozigi* made reference to the many diverse ways in which skills were acquired in Northern Nigeria.

Archibald Callaway said that the Bank should be congratulated on its path-finding diagnosis of the needs of education of poor people in low-income countries. He felt, however, that more emphasis might have been given to vocational training of the large numbers of young people who are certain to find their vocations as self-employed rural producers. Many of these youths had not attended school at all. Others were primary or early secondary school leavers, both young men and young women.

The typical economic unit in the rural areas – whether in the hamlet, village or the rural town – in most countries, is the small-scale, self-employed enterprise: the family farm, the trading establishment, the craft or small-scale industry, the artisan workshop, the small transport business, the seamstress with her girl apprentices, the stall in the market. The same is true of the backstreets of cities. Vocational skills relevant to these farms and 'firms' are learned by young people on the job from adults actively at work.

The question is how best government can intervene to upgrade (and, in some instances, to transform) this normal procedure for acquiring skills on the job. Full-time, classroom-oriented training can produce graduates for wage-jobs as tractor drivers, clerks or mechanics but does not usually produce better self-employed farmers

and artisans. The training required for a lifetime vocation as self-employed rural producers is a suitable blend of on-the-job training and supplementary learning.

This element of supplementary learning could perhaps best be provided on completing apprentice training or, after setting up on own account, at the slack period of the production year. Such intermittent courses of a few weeks are often most usefully conducted by well-trained extension workers at modest, multi-purpose rural training centres – or their equivalent.

Christopher Colclough emphasized the importance of vocational training as an alternative means of producing skills, and as a key to modifying the education system in such a way that the supply of qualifications did not get out of line with society's needs. In general, the income differentials among those with different levels of vocational training were very much less marked than between those with different levels of general education.

(ii) *Education for Rural Areas*

The compartmentalism implicit in the ESWP's discussion of 'development of skills for rural areas' as a separate category attracted critical comment from participants in the meeting. It was not accepted that policies for the rural setting raised basically different questions from policies for the modern sector, nor that 'non-formal schemes' and 'functional literacy' should have been discussed in the ESWP only in the context of the rural areas. *John Lewis* said that whilst the accidentals in terms of illustrations and techniques might differ between urban and rural areas, the fundamentals in terms of basic communication skills, learning to make judgments of situations and so on, were not different. In an era of rapid change, there could be no guarantee that a 'rural education' would be appropriate to the future lives of children presently residing in rural areas.

(iii) *Equity and Efficiency*

The prevailing mood at the meeting towards the issue of equity was one of caution. It was recognized that 'equality' and 'equity' had distinct meanings, but that the ESWP tended to use the second to refer to the first. It was generally agreed that in their formal structures education systems should stress equality, which meant rejecting the kind of dual system the ESWP seemed to propose with its 'parallel system' of primary schools and basic education. But, as *Arnold Anderson* argued, much more could be done in distributing educational resources more equitably, treating both pupils and teachers more fairly.

At the same time those present were conscious of the questions raised by John Cameron in his opening remarks as to whether the very

process of economic development did not presuppose unevenness and inequality; and by Arnold Anderson's observations (see below) that the mobilization of local community self-help effort inevitably involved increasing imparities at local level. *Jean Bowman* suggested that strategic questions arose as to the correct timing of any emphasis on equality. Would too much emphasis on equality now in fact limit one's options in future? In the case of a society like Brazil an emphasis on greater equality at the present time might well be the correct prescription, but that might not have been the best policy at every point in the past; and one might hesitate to advocate it for every society at present.

Kenneth King saw the emphasis on equity in the ESWP as a way of saying that the élites in developing countries were socially irresponsible. It amounted to telling developing countries how they should behave. Having failed to achieve equality in Western countries through 'headstart' programmes, etc., there was now a move to turn the Third World into a vast experimental station for new equality programmes. Taking up the reference to élites, *Arnold Anderson* said the real issue was not that of their existence, but whether the élites were 'earning their keep' in terms of their contribution to the development and modernization of society. Moreover, although élites certainly made use of the school system, it was doubtful if there was any school system which produced more inequity than would exist if there were no schools.

Jon Lauglo argued that the new preoccupation of Westerners with inequality in developing countries stemmed less from a 'bleeding heart', as John Cameron had appeared to suggest, than from a different development model. He suggested that in some developing countries relative differences between social groups in educational participation were no greater than in some industrialized countries.

Finally, the heavy cost of pursuing equity to its ultimate conclusion was stressed. In this connection the factor of remoteness, stressed by both Peter Williams (see above) and Hugh Hawes (see below) was a major obstacle to achieving genuine equality even of educational access, let alone achievement, at any reasonable cost.

(iv) *Costs of educational growth*

Lionel Elvin said the ESWP had pointed to a basic dilemma which had to be faced squarely. This was the enormous cost of universal primary education. If one rejected the idea put forward in the ESWP of a dual system – which the World Bank was floating partly as a way of reducing the cost of education for all – one had an obligation to come up with alternatives. At present levels of cost per head in primary education one could not hope to reach universal primary education in

twenty years and a country like Upper Volta would need to spend the whole of the Government budget and 50 per cent more to put all its children in school. In most developing countries, even allowing for 'the OPEC-effect' in countries with oil and for a reasonable level of growth of the national economy, there would not be sufficient government resources. External aid might help but would not account for much. In the face of this one had to ask for increased support from local communities.

Guy Hunter advocated more support for education – which, like John Oxenham earlier, he distinguished from schooling – from parents and the community. The responsibility of parents and the community at large for the education of the young must be stressed. The idea of people 'dropping out' of education was an outrage. Educational planning must start from the basis of resources available in the community, which government could supplement when it was satisfied that the community itself was making an effort. Even when governments could not afford to pump in buildings and teachers, there were in the community resources of time, skill and wisdom which could be used to educate the young. In particular the young could and should be helped to learn about how people earned their living, about different job-roles and job-contents. Such an approach did not imply that schools should be abolished, but rather that communities should start with their own educational resources and progress gradually to the fully-developed school. If school could not be organized to fill the whole day, then parents must provide education for part of the day. Government's role should be one of auxiliary help, to supplement and assist but not to be the chief provider. He recognized that organization of community effort was less straightforward in urban areas where 'the community' was harder to identify and voluntary collective effort harder to mobilize, and there would be some areas where, as Lionel Elvin had said, communities might be too thin on the ground to carry the load. It was also a sad fact that 'school' had sometimes tended to become the enemy of 'education', by undermining people's confidence in their own abilities and empirical experience and substituting for it official knowledge called 'science'. Nevertheless, local effort and responsibility must be relied upon to a greater degree if educational opportunity was to be extended at all quickly: it was no good just waiting for government to act.

Arnold Anderson pointed out that greater reliance on local community resources probably implied a wider range in the level of educational provision in different areas which was difficult to reconcile with equality. *Peter Williams* asked whether people might not accept short-term inequality if they were persuaded that long-term government policy was based on considerations of equity; and if they could feel

more certain that, if they themselves made an educational effort, they would qualify before too long for inclusion in government programmes of help. He thought that the case of Upper Volta, quoted by Lionel Elvin, was somewhat untypical of the general problem in developing countries, reflecting as it did extremely high salary scales relative to national income levels and an extraordinarily low density of population.

Arnold Anderson suggested there was need to explore analytically a new set of education expansion goals looming over the horizon, which was an enrolment rate of 30 or 40 per cent in secondary school. Could developing countries afford to think in terms of levels of educational provision that the US did not have until 1930? *Jon Lauglo* was also concerned whether, bearing in mind the selective function of schools, the wider availability of primary education in developing countries would not simply trigger an escalation of demand for education at successively higher levels.

John Anderson said that if one was going to look for increased community financing of education, then local priorities must be respected and these were often for secondary schools. Qualifications which secured wage employment were what people were prepared to work for in the field of self-help education. In order to safeguard equity one might think in terms of using a quota to provide a basic minimum provision for each area, and allow self-help effort to provide additional places beyond the minimum. But this did not solve the problem of focusing community effort on to educational projects which had relevance to local employment conditions. This was a critical task, and action research in these areas should be given very high priority.

With regard to the cost of educational expansion *Guy Hunter* observed that by leaning more on local communities to provide education, some new resources would be generated. People were sometimes ready to devote to the voluntary support of education energies and resources that would not necessarily be available for alternative investments. So it might not be true in every instance that educational expansion would deprive other sectors of needed funds. In any case where 'alternative uses of resources' in fact took the form of transfers through marketing board mechanisms from rural to urban areas, it was not clear that they were any more beneficial to over-all development, let alone to the interests of rural people. *Peter Williams* noted with reference to Jon Lauglo's earlier point, that although in theory it might seem that educational growth would endlessly feed on itself as qualifications required for jobs rose, in practice there were countervailing forces at work. Even when education was 'free', the opportunity cost of enrolling steadily increased as children became adolescent and then adult. Admittedly, in a situation of complete

lack of work, continuation of studies might be costless to the individual, but there were few situations where there were no benefits forgone by continuation of study.

Basic Education and Mass Participation

Hugh Hawes in introducing this topic said the paper* that John Cameron and he had circulated, was not meant to be in any way cynical, but was intended to reflect the kind of reactions to the ESWP to be expected from people at local level. Policies might be discussed on Mount Olympus, but changes took place on the ground.

In speaking of basic education the first task was to define it. There had been various interpretations from Gandhi onwards, with some now talking of 'basic education' and others of 'the basic cycle of studies'. The Bank appeared to hover between the idea of basic education as a first stage of education directed towards minimum learning needs, including the primary cycle, as its main vehicle on the one hand; and the implication on the other hand that it was an alternative form of mainly terminal education for the deserving poor. The second interpretation should be rejected: the only valid one was that basic education should be considered as a means by which the learner could take charge of his own life, and as a basis for further learning and living likely to be the same whether one was in an urban or rural area. Once these goals were set, it should be recognized that there was a variety of paths to achieve them.

Beyond this, however, one had to decide whether basic education should be conceived of as a system or an idea. The Bank seemed to see it as a system with four-year schools, a new curricular system etc; its perspective was one of institutions and target groups. But if basic education were rather seen as an idea, the perspective would shift from systems to goals, with schools only one way of contributing to them. One would then begin to realize that one could never be sure whether or not the goals had been fully achieved. This was an untidy way of looking at things and so might not commend itself to planners and bankers, who were tidy people.

He then turned to the question of priorities. The Bank was saying that in the interests of equity basic education was an over-riding educational priority. But if one established something as a priority something else had to go. If it were proposed that a four-year 'minimum formation education' should replace the standard six- or seven-year cycle, the Mortadellans (see Hawes/Cameron paper above) would react in the standard way – violent opposition. If the object were to save money, a more acceptable alternative from the parents' point of view would be to retain the length of the cycle in

*See above. *A Memorandum from Mortadella*, p. 56.

years, but to reduce the length of the school day or school week either by a shift attendance or an alternative day attendance system. Since children learned as they grew, a long period of extensive learning seemed better than a short period of intensive learning.

There were two fundamental issues only partially recognized by the Bank. First, global arithmetic got one nowhere: the correct educational pattern had to be decided separately by each country and would be decided in the light of political ideology and economic self-sufficiency. Some countries would find equity beyond them, for equity surely did not imply the right to starve together. Second, the question had been raised of equity between adults and children. Although the global figures on page 33 of the report were rather meaningless and would be better forgotten, the planning and provision of really effective large-scale adult education programmes could cripple programmes of education for younger learners.

Was it not possible in fact that demand for education would prove an effective if not necessarily equitable regulator of the amount of education to be supplied? Perhaps educational opportunities should be directed first towards those who wished to set themselves free through basic education. There were after all limits to the extent one could pursue Tuaregs into the desert with books they did not want.

So far as the content of basic education was concerned the Bank had its heart in the right place, but had seriously underestimated the difficulties. He thought the real issue in the next decade would be questions of quality and content, and although the Bank was pointing the way down the road few people were in fact travelling it. Some good work had been going on – for example at Innotech in Saigon and in Jamaica – but these examples were few and the contrast between the large volume of literature on forecasting enrolments and quantitative measures and the dearth of material on planning for curriculum and teacher education was remarkable. Nigeria and Tanzania, for example, had just announced programmes of universal primary education but appeared less concerned with what would go into it. In most countries there was an extensive system of schooling, but hardly any standardized tests. If this was the situation in respect of long-established school systems, how much more problematical would be the design of a content for basic education which would be applicable and acceptable? He thought the Bank was over-optimistic about the curricular problems of basic education and the working paper underestimated the complexity of the problems involved.

Discussion

Arnold Anderson and *Lionel Elvin* doubted whether the concept of basic education was clearly enough defined to be useful. They thought the ESWP was far from clear in the matter of definition and that the

relationship between basic education and primary schooling was left too vague. *Guy Hunter* said that basic education was not particularly helpful as an operational concept unless one specified very clearly the categories of learners involved. School children aged six to eleven could not usefully be bracketed with older learners, themselves a miscellaneous group. Adolescents and adults, illiterates and school drop-outs could not be taught in identical ways. The content and institutional framework of education would have to vary for each group. *James Sheffield* on the other hand thought that the definitions of basic education given on pp. 29-30 of the ESWP were adequate and that too tight a definition would not be useful. Basic education was a broader concept, applicable to a much wider range of learners, than primary schooling. Much would depend on whether this point was understood in developing countries, or whether they simply interpreted basic education as a watered-down substitute for primary education, and suitable for drop-outs. *George Parkyn* said he thought there was some danger of the meeting fighting straw men on this question of definitions of basic education, since the World Bank would probably agree largely with what Hugh Hawes and others had said. He also defended the use of the terms 'formal', 'non-formal' and 'informal' education, which Archibald Callaway had earlier criticized as less accurate than 'school' and 'out-of-school' education. George Parkyn thought that 'formal', 'non-formal' and 'informal' could be clearly differentiated from an organizational point of view, with 'formal' applying to institutions whose specific purposes were to educate, 'non-formal' applying to the specific educative activities of bodies whose main purposes were of other kinds (e.g. productive enterprises, trade unions etc.), and 'informal' applying to the educative influence of all sorts of experiences undergone during the course of life. *Lionel Elvin* disagreed. He considered that the use of the formal/non-formal/informal terminology was extremely confusing because formal and non-formal had other connotations in regard to educational methods, and these cut right across organizational categories. He thought Archibald Callaway's distinction between education in school and education out-of-school to be more useful.

Lionel Elvin also spoke out strongly against the idea of a dual system, either on the basis of 'urban education' for some and 'rural education' for others; or 'primary education' for some and 'parallel systems' of basic education for others. He welcomed all kinds of radical changes in the primary education system, but thought that the notion of parallel systems should be firmly rejected. There would be a suspicion in respect of this kind of system that it would become a way of keeping the under-privileged down permanently; of dishonestly fobbing them off with an inferior product whilst assuring them it was

as good as primary schooling. There was broad support by participants for this position, and also for Hugh Hawes's emphatic rejection of the idea that the design of basic education programmes ought to emphasize terminal characteristics.

John Anderson and *Jon Lauglo* thought the ESWP paid insufficient attention to the way in which the selective function would be fulfilled by basic education programmes. The paper was critical of the emphasis in primary schools on the selective function, but it did not satisfactorily show how basic education programmes would handle the problem. Other criticisms of the viability of basic education as a parallel system were brought forward by *Jean Bowman* who found the ESWP too vague about who the teachers were going to be, and by *Roy Gardner* who expressed concern about the organizational feasibility of much that was proposed. It was very easy to talk about integrating education with other community programmes, about tapping existing local resources for education, building new learning frameworks and so on. But very often, as in shanty towns or scattered population areas, there was in fact no 'community'. And just who was going to carry out the vast job of identifying needs, organizing programmes, mobilizing contributions, integrating programmes, etc?

Finally, a number of speakers addressed themselves to the question of the content of basic education. *John Lewis* stressed the need for flexibility and for skills which were not too specific, bearing in mind the inevitability of technical and economic change. In this kind of situation the ability to find out was more valuable than possession of a store of knowledge. Yet all too many schools saw their role simply in terms of transmitting to pupils a series of subject contents, and seemed incapable of making the quantum jump involved in pursuing the broader ends of education. He thought that the concept of basic education might prove useful to the schools if it helped concentrate attention on 'basics', on essentials. If money was short and the time spent by pupils in schools had to be limited, might not areas like art be better handled outside school? Was there any point in including physical education in the curriculum for children who walked long distances to and from school each day? Health education was another area frequently badly taught. It was currently fashionable to suggest whole new areas of relevant curriculum, but recognition of teacher limitations and time limitations was essential. *Arnold Anderson* argued that the most basic skills – which he described as subject skills – were the ability to express oneself clearly and to read and write. Literacy skills became increasingly important as one moved from the subsistence to the monetary economy, but they needed to be exercised and kept alive by the provision of interesting reading matter. It was here that local newspapers and news-sheets, which gave people the chance to read about themselves and their com-

munity, could contribute much. *Jean Bowman* and *John Lewis* also stressed the importance of ready access to attractive and entertaining reading materials.

Jeremy Greenland took up Peter Williams's earlier criticism of the apparent narrowness of the Bank's interpretation of the social dimensions of development. He commented on the ESWP's pre-occupation with the economic functions of education, and on the fact that the traditional learning processes most generally approved of were economically-oriented ones. But the development process was intimately bound up with social and cultural values and with the moral, ethical and religious domain of the curriculum. Unesco and foreign advisers, on whom the poorest countries generally relied for advice, naturally fought shy of involvement in this area. Thus the quite erroneous view gained ground that curriculum was basically a technical matter concerned with economically useful knowledge and skills, rather than with cultural attitudes, beliefs and values and with social relationships.

Implementing Change

Reg Honeybone introduced the discussion. He said the ESWP did not go into sufficient detail of how implementation of changes and reforms would take place, particularly in basic education. In this respect he would like to make four main points.

1. Real change in education was very slow, as Beeby* and others had pointed out. Real change concerned improved processes of learning and went deeper than changes in organization. Educational changes affecting basic education would be particularly slow because they applied to a wide age-range and to people of very varied socio-economic background, as the ESWP made clear. By definition, many of those who would be drawn into learning for the first time through basic education would come from groups traditionally least responsive to change.
2. The Bank said little about the training of change-agents. Very often these would be people who had been through local universities and although these institutions were directly or by implication often criticized for producing élites, they should be given credit for their contribution in terms of middle- and higher-level personnel who could help manage the process of change in their countries.
3. Changes would take place more rapidly if institutional growing points were established. Governments tended to use institutions and their graduates much less than they could or should by dispersing their effectiveness. In the education system, for example, instead of

*Beeby, C. E., *The Quality of Education in Developing Countries*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966.

using graduates from higher institutions only as teachers with minimum opportunities of innovation, they could be used more in the formulation of new policies, and the whole process of change.

4. In general, universities and other training institutions could be regarded as permanent and therefore suitable as a home for projects based on international aid. In particular, they could offer facilities for the training of, for example, many types of teachers and extension workers under one roof instead of in dispersed institutions. The Bank had not elaborated its proposals on the support of training very far. From Table 8 on page 51 of the ESWP it appeared that an increase in health and agricultural training, but a decrease in teacher training, was contemplated: but since no cross-tabulation by curricula and levels was given one could not be certain about the Bank's intentions.

Discussion

Raymond Lyons stressed the close relationship between educational change on the one hand, and economic and social change in the countryside on the other. In terms of trying to help the poorest groups in the population and to promote greater equality, which was the World Bank's aim, education was secondary in importance to measures designed to raise agricultural productivity and incomes. Such measures involved vital political issues.

There was some discussion of the mechanics of educational change. *Lionel Elvin* criticized the tendency of the international bodies to be somewhat indiscriminate in their advocacy of change. In some countries reform might be urgent, but in others like Brazil or Venezuela it might not be necessary to rethink the system completely. Nobody at the meeting agreed with the optimistic assertion by the ESWP that 'change will normally begin through a comprehensive study of the sector as a whole which assesses broadly the degree to which the country's total learning system responds to its developmental objectives and needs' (p. 58). This formulation did not give adequate recognition to the fact that educational change was not an exclusively directive process under bureaucratic control but was continuously occurring through gradual modification of behaviour, perceptions, and desires on the part of parents, students, teachers and others. *Peter Williams* argued that the calls in the ESWP and elsewhere for radical reforms took little account of changes that were being effected and the processes of adjustment to changing circumstances that could be observed at institutional and individual levels. Studies of the process of change and adjustment – such as the ESWP's suggestion for more tracer studies – might be more beneficial and enlightening than comprehensive evaluations.

Some examples of comprehensive sector studies of education were briefly discussed. Indigenous leadership and participation in such

surveys at national level were crucial but, as *John Cameron* pointed out in respect of Ethiopia, were not enough by themselves. There must also be extensive local consultation within the country and a basic congruence between the proposals made and the aspirations of the people. *John Lewis* also stressed the importance of genuine consultation and participation in educational planning and in the formulation of proposals for change.

Kenneth King underlined the danger that powerful international agencies might succeed in 'selling' ideas to the developing world which had no real chance of spreading. The offer of finance for basic education projects might result in the creation of a few piecemeal projects – community education centres perhaps, or programmes for the education of nomads – in a number of radical countries. Such projects could become quite celebrated without necessarily having much significance to processes of diffusing over-all educational or economic change. A good example was the famous Jeanes School in Kenya which had been visited by countless local and international experts; and which, despite its high reputation, had had virtually no impact on Kenya's primary school system. This same example illustrated how difficult it would be for the World Bank to channel its aid funds in such a way as to promote local entrepreneurship.

There was a brief discussion of the World Bank's own lending policies and procedures. The meeting generally welcomed a number of proposed new emphases in the World Bank's mode of operations as outlined in the ESWP. In particular participants endorsed the need for ensuring that assisted pilot projects be replicable, the possibility of rendering recurrent financial assistance in the case of experimental projects, and the use of more flexible operational procedures.

Appendix 1

Summary of the Education Sector Working Paper

The paper is in three parts. The first shortest part reviews trends in education and development between 1950 and 1970. The second part, occupying the major portion of the volume, discusses the issues facing developing countries and the different policies open to them in developing their education systems. The third and final part is devoted to the World Bank's education lending policy and programme.

1. Trends in Education and Development to 1970

There has long been concern over the relevance and quality of education in developing countries. A new concern has now arisen in so far as the rate of expansion of educational growth in the later 1960s declined. Since then the economic plight of the poorest countries has been intensified by the rise in oil prices. There is now the prospect of retrogression rather than progress towards universal primary education.

Although it used to be assumed that educational policies were irrelevant to development objectives, it now seems that they were in many respects keeping company with overall development objectives which were themselves irrelevant to the conditions of developing societies. In their efforts to modernize and 'catch up' with the developed countries, the newly independent countries put considerable emphasis on capital-intensive investment which created little employment. The traditional sectors of the economy were relatively neglected. This strategy was mirrored in educational development strategies which, under the influence of often crude and superficial manpower studies, stressed secondary and higher education rather than primary education; moreover, vocational education was neglected.

2. Education Development Strategy for the 1970s and Beyond

The sharing of the benefits of growth and not merely growth itself, is now seen to be important. A number of countries are therefore considering a poverty-oriented development strategy emphasizing the creation of productive employment with particular emphasis on the stimulation of new productivity in rural areas. If fuller use is to be made of human resources in the traditional and transitional sectors of the economy, mass education will be an economic as well as a social necessity. Amongst other things, this implies first that educational opportunities must be better distributed as between the sexes, different social groups and geographical areas, and between urban and rural regions; second, that it should be extended through non-formal and informal systems to target groups other than school-age groups alone.

Five basic issues are then discussed, together with related policies.

(a) Formation of Appropriate Skills

Because wage jobs are often allocated on the basis of formal education credentials there is a strong and constant pressure to expand enrolments beyond the absorptive capacity of the modern sector. Employers respond by choosing job-seekers with more education, which only exacerbates the problem by further fuelling demand. The content of education becomes distorted with each cycle being regarded mainly as a step towards the next. Consequently, education systems become dysfunctional both for the economy and for school leavers.

To help find employment for school leavers a number of different policies, reflecting different analyses of the causes of the problem, have been advocated. These include job creation, revision of the curriculum to include job-oriented skills, rationing of secondary and higher education, and altering the benefit cost-ratio for students of attending school by raising the private cost of schooling and reducing earnings differentials between groups with different educational attainments. Such policies require co-ordination of education employment and wage policies and the co-operation of employers.

Policies for the rural setting raise a number of different questions. Possible approaches include ruralization of conventional schools, non-formal education schemes either parallel or alternative to school education, and functional literacy programmes. Among basic criteria for the design of rural education and training programmes are that they should be functional, form part of a total education delivery system, be integrated with other rural development activities and be replicable in terms of their costs and managerial requirements.

(b) Ensuring Mass Participation in Education and Development

Many education systems generally fail to achieve effective mass participation in educational opportunities. Although public expenditure on education has greatly increased, about half the children and adults in developing countries have not been provided with sufficient education and future prospects are unpromising. The overall literacy rate has increased during the 1960s from 41 per cent to 50 per cent, but there may even so be an increase of over 100 million adult illiterates by 1985.

In countries with high primary school enrolment ratios mass education can be provided by the formal primary school education system, supplemented by out-of-school schemes for youth and adults. For many lower income countries, however, the expansion of formal school systems to provide mass education may not be financially viable, and in these cases the concept of basic education may offer the most hopeful approach. Basic education is characterized by a functional definition of content and objectives in terms of 'minimum learning needs', by openness to learners regardless of age and socio-economic characteristics, and by varying forms and technologies of provision. In addition to formal primary schools, parallel systems – either complementary or alternative to primary school – should be considered. Such dualism may encounter parental objections that it is inequitable, but it may be the only way in the poorest countries of

providing some kind of education for all, and some of the problems of dualism may be overcome by structural adjustments.

(c) Education and Equity

Most education systems have a regressive character, favouring urban and higher income groups. The quality of teachers and other inputs is uneven as between schools serving different areas and income groups, and systems of educational finance may operate in such a way as to transfer income from lower to higher income groups.

Equalizing access to education through appropriate school location and financial support policies is an important means of attaining equality of educational opportunity. Equalizing the chances for achievement is a more difficult objective, however. Additional school inputs and improved selection and promotion mechanisms can offset some of the disadvantages of pupils from underprivileged backgrounds, but it must be recognized that there are important non-school variables affecting achievement, particularly the socio-economic background of a student's family, which may only be affected through changes in the overall income distribution pattern of a country.

(d) Increasing Efficiency

Education systems in most developing countries are inefficient in using resources. The quality and subject distribution of teachers is inadequate. Studies indicating that it may be possible to increase class size without significant loss of student performance should be followed up. The design and efficient use of learning materials and equipment require attention, and children's motivation and ability to learn is often impaired by inadequate nutrition. All these inefficiencies are reflected in high rates of dropout and repeating.

Steps to improve efficiency include more exact specification of education and training objectives and of performance standards, and the identification of factors – both school and non-school – likely to affect efficiency. Some measures to improve efficiency could produce cost savings, such as changes in the phasing of teacher training or increased class sizes, and other reforms might be neutral in their effect on costs. But many qualitative improvements would entail higher costs, so that it is important to explore cost-reducing changes.

(e) Improving Management and Planning Capacity

The poor performance of educational systems partly reflects inadequate management. Education policy makers are usually ill-equipped to see educational policy as part of overall national economic and social policy and to operate in the area of interface between education and employment or education and finance. There is a lack of co-ordination within the administrative structure among the different agencies concerned with education and training, both at national and local level. Political decision-makers and educational managers do not communicate well with each other.

In the first place, new planning approaches are needed. Conventional approaches to educational planning, particularly the rate of return approach and the manpower approach, bypass the key questions of equalizing educational opportunities and participation, especially for people in the traditional sectors. A broader approach to planning is therefore needed. One tool which may prove useful is cohort analysis, based on the idea of following by means of tracer studies the major educational and job steps in the life cycle of a total age group. More disaggregated analysis by regions, economic sectors and social groups is also required.

Second, substantial changes in the organization and structure of educational systems are called for. Third, systems of educational finance should be overhauled and new sources of finance for education such as self-help, earmarked payroll levies or student loans schemes, should be explored. Access to education and equity in education are sensitive to alternative modes of financing. Finally, the development of local research capacity and of procedures for regular evaluation is essential.

3. The World Bank's Education Lending Policy and Programme

(a) Introduction

While no single formula or strategy can meet the needs of all the Bank's borrowers, an analysis of educational profiles of countries with different levels of income and stages of development shows some patterns which can help the Bank adjust its response to the different priority needs of countries. Increasingly, the Bank's educational lending reflects its concern with the needs of low-income countries and of the poorer 40 per cent of the population. But the Bank will continue to assist countries which still need help despite having moved to higher levels of development.

For the poorest countries the major task is meeting the minimum learning needs of the uneducated masses. What is called for in most cases is basic education programmes, emphasis on rural training, and a careful and selective development of upper levels of formal education. In middle- and higher-income countries on the other hand the development of secondary and post-secondary education will be a more central pre-occupation, and particular attention to the balance between educational output and manpower requirements will be important.

(b) Bank Policy and Activities 1963-74

The first education project supported by the Bank was in 1962, and in 1963 a memorandum on Bank education policies was issued. The Bank's lending was initially concentrated on training of critically needed types of manpower but the approach broadened over time, and a memorandum issued by the President of the Bank in 1970 underlined this. Whereas in the 1963-71 period Bank lending was divided between primary, intermediate and higher education in the proportions 5:72:23, this had changed to 11:48:41 by 1972-74 and is projected to become 27:43:30 in the 1974-78 period.

(c) The Bank's Future Programme

The Bank's educational lending will be based on the following principles:

(a) There should be at least a minimum basic education for all as fully and as soon as available resources permit and the course of development requires.

(b) Further education and training beyond the basic level should be provided selectively to improve quantitatively and qualitatively the knowledge and skills necessary for the performance of economic, social and other developmental roles.

(c) A national system of education should be viewed as a comprehensive learning system embracing formal, non-formal and informal education and working with maximum possible internal and external efficiency.

(d) In the interest of both increased productivity and social equity, educational opportunities should be equalized as fully as possible.

Dealing with Basic/Primary Education. In countries needing to expand the formal primary school system the Bank will give help with curriculum and other reforms. Those with low enrolment and limited resources will be assisted to review and revise their structures. Particular attention will be paid to language planning for the greater use of mother tongues, use of electronic media, strengthening local administration of education, and localization of procurement. Lending may reach $350-400m in 1974-78, but this will basically be a 'tooling up' period.

Development of Skills. The Bank will continue to devote a major part of its funds for educational development to support the development of skills to meet the needs of vocational and professional manpower in the urban and rural sectors. The policy of encouraging comprehensive schools may be modified in poor countries with low school enrolments. Manpower analysis will continue to be used but will be broadened. New techniques for cost effectiveness analysis in the choice of alternative forms of vocational training will be developed and applied.

Efficiency. The Bank will encourage cost consciousness in the management of education, especially through larger class sizes, local production of equipment and textbooks, and the hiring of teachers with experience outside education. The systematic use of evaluation, improved child nutrition, and emphasis on the financial criteria in educational projects, will also be promoted.

Education and Equity. Equity will be a key criterion in all Bank operations. The Bank will develop a guidance and monitoring system to determine the beneficiaries of education projects.

(d) Bank Lending Programmes and Possibilities

A first question is whether countries will be prepared to accept the policies advocated in the *Education Sector Working Paper*. Experience suggests that the innate caution and conservatism of educational establishments will continue and few countries will undertake the radical changes which many external observers consider necessary. But one can observe a growing

willingness to consider proposals for reform and awareness of financial constraints may act as a powerful inducement. Change will normally begin through comprehensive studies of the education sector as a whole, and the Bank will encourage such studies.

A second question concerns the risks in these policies. The risks inherent in embarking on highly innovative policies are substantial, but the effects of continuing to neglect the needs identified in the Working Paper would certainly be more costly.

A third question is whether the Bank itself is in a good position to help implement the proposals of the paper. The Bank intends to finance 80 projects costing $1075m in 1974-8 compared with 66 projects costing $947m in 1969-73. An additional $350m will be spent on training projects in other sectors. About 27 per cent of the lending will be for primary and basic education.

The Bank is making every effort to ensure that an equitable distribution of its educational loans, both within and between countries, occurs though a number of factors limit its ability to act in this regard including the absorptive capacity of recipients and the greater availability of Bank funds for higher interest Bank loans than for low interest Bank credits. More flexible procedures will be required in terms of financial disbursement and procurement. These include the financing of operational, as well as capital, costs of experimental projects and of the training of teachers and administrators.

Appendix 2

Review Meeting on The World Bank *Education Sector Working Paper* held in the Department of Education in Developing Countries, University of London Institute of Education on Monday 19 May 1975.

List of Participants

Chairman: Reg Honeybone Professor and Head of Department of Education in Developing Countries, University of London Institute of Education.

Convenor: Peter Williams Lecturer in the Department of Education in Developing Countries, University of London Institute of Education.

Arnold Anderson Professor Emeritus in Education and Sociology and former Director of the Comparative Education Centre, University of Chicago; Visiting Professor at the University of London Institute of Education, 1975.

John Anderson Principal of The College of St Mark and St John, Plymouth.

Mary Jean Bowman Professor Emeritus in Education and Economics in the University of Chicago; Visiting Professor at the London School of Economics 1975.

Archibald Callaway Fellow of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of Oxford.

John Cameron Senior Lecturer, Department of Education in Developing Countries, University of London Institute of Education.

Christopher Colclough Research Officer, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

Kenneth Cripwell Lecturer, Department of Education in Developing Countries, University of London Institute of Education.

Tony Dodds Consultant, International Extension College, London.

Paula Edwards Department of Health and Social Security Nursing Research Fellow attached to the Department of Education in Developing Countries, University of London Institute of Education.

Lionel Elvin Professor Emeritus in Education and former Director, University of London Institute of Education.

Nick Evans Senior Lecturer, Department of Education in Developing Countries, University of London Institute of Education.

Roy Gardner Lecturer, Department of Education in Developing Countries, University of London Institute of Education.

Jeremy Greenland Lecturer in the Department of Educational Studies, University of Oxford.

Hugh Hawes Lecturer, Department of Education in Developing Countries, University of London Institute of Education.

Guy Hunter Senior Research Officer of the Overseas Development Institute, London.

Kenneth King Lecturer, Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh.

Jon Lauglo Lecturer, Department of Comparative Education, University of London Institute of Education.

John Lewis Professor Emeritus in Education and former Head of the Department of Education in Developing Countries, University of London Institute of Education.

Raymond Lyons Senior Programme Officer, International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris.

John Oxenham Fellow of the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

Albert Ozigi Principal Tutor, Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria; Visiting Scholar, Department of Education in Developing Countries, University of London Institute of Education 1975.

George Parkyn Professor and Head of Department of Comparative Education, University of London Institute of Education.

James Sheffield Director of International Studies at Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York; Visiting Scholar, Department of Education in Developing Countries, University of London Institute of Education 1974-75.

Elwyn Thomas Lecturer, Department of Education in Developing Countries, University of London Institute of Education.

Michael Young Chairman, International Extension College, London.

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ISSN 0458-2101

£1.75